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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the findings of a committee at the University of Maryland (College Park) charged with studying the effectiveness of programs on campus aimed at achieving higher rates of participation and success for black faculty. Fourteen sections present results of the committee's survey and interviews, examination of specific issues, and recommendations for the future. Section I describes the charge of the committee, the context for the committee's work, and the nature of the study. The second section looks at data on UMCP faculty and discusses how to compare that data usefully with that of other institutions. Section III looks at faculty advancement and minority success. Section IV presents findings of a survey on job satisfaction. Section V discusses faculty expectations given by the hiring process. Section VI looks at how department chairs can help or hinder young faculty aiming for tenure. Section VII describes faculty collegiality and its value. Section VIII looks at institutional expectations of faculty. Section IX discusses trust among faculty and administrators. Section X treats equity officers. Section XI describes complaint procedures. Section XII covers affirmative action. Section XIII examines mentoring. Section XIV looks overall at the reward system in light of diversity goals. (Includes 65 end notes) (JB)

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HIRING, PROMOTING AND RETAINING AFRICAN AMERICAN FACULTY: A CASE STUDY OF AN ASPIRING MULTI-CULTURAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY

BY

MONIQUE WESTON CLAGUE

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ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education held at the Marriott City Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota, October 29 - November 1, 1992. This paper was reviewed by ASHE and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with the research of higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC collection of ASHE conference papers.

PREFACE

This paper is based on the investigation and writing the author undertook as co-chair of the Committee on Excellence Through Diversity: Providing Opportunities for Black Americans at AMCU [hereinafter referred to as the ETD committee.] [a] Thus, although this paper is presented to an ASHE audience, it was not written with an ASHE audience specifically in mind. It was written with many different constituents of AMCU, and of the region in which the campus is located, primarily in mind.

Appointed in March 1990 by the President of AMCU, in consultation with the Executive Committee of the campus Senate, the 15 person ETD committee was given the following 3 part charge.

1. **To assess the effectiveness of present programs aimed at achieving the full participation of Black Americans in all aspects of campus life**

2. **To recommend change in programs that are determined to be deficient; and**

3. **To suggest new strategies that are needed in order for the campus to achieve the objectives on black American participation identified in the campus five-year plan, Enhancing the AMCU Campus--An Action Plan.**

The ETD committee was composed of members from each of the following campus constituencies--undergraduate students, graduate students, service/maintenance staff, clerical staff, professional & executive staff, tenured faculty & the Black Ministries. One of the undergraduate students was President of the Black Student Union. The African American graduate student, now a PhD, worked closely with black men on campus. The professional and executive staff included one college dean (Arts & Humanities), one department chair (Anthropology), the Director of the Office of Minority Student Education, the Associate Director of AMCU's Office of Minority Graduate Affairs, and the Director of the Counseling Center. Besides the author, tenured faculty included a professor of physics, a professor of political science, and a professor of math.

Committee members interpreted the charge as asking for recommendations relating to four campus constituencies: undergraduate students, graduate students, faculty, and staff. Consequently the Basic & Summary Reports of the Committee address issues and concerns related to all four of these campus groups, not just to faculty. One Chapter of the Basic Report, "Diversity and

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[a] 17 of 35 interviews were conductd by Janice White, an AMCU doctoral student in higher education.

the Faculty-Student Connection," also considers the link between faculty and students. 13 of the 15 members of the ETD committee endorsed the Basic & Summary Reports. All African American members endorsed them. They were presented to the President of AMCU on July 30, 1992. The President in turn released them to deans, chairpersons, and other unit heads on September 24, 1992, a few days before this preface is written. Committee members now await campus reactions.

Because this study originated in a charge given to a Committee by a University President; because it was subject to active suggestions, critiques and review by fellow committee members; and because it was written with a particular [albeit diverse] audience in mind, I decided to present it to ASHE essentially as it was written for AMCU, rather than to rewrite it for ASHE members. Another way of putting this is that this paper falls, according to the conventions and culture of AMCU, under the disdained label of the university "service." This labeling epitomizes a felt tension which the culture of a research university sets up for faculty who seek to address the "challenge of diversity" in ways that don't square perfectly with AMCU's prevailing, and--considering the importance of the challenge of diversity--overly Procrustean hierarchy of values.

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HIRING, PROMOTING AND RETAINING AFRICAN AMERICAN FACULTY: A CASE STUDY OF AN ASPIRING MULTI-CULTURAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY

I. INTRODUCTION: THE CHARGE, THE CONTEXT AND THE CHALLENGE

In October 1989 President of AMCU released a report to the campus entitled Access Is Not Enough. Prepared by an Assistant to the President of AMCU, the report examined "opportunities for blacks to be successful at AMCU," as well as chronic obstacles that limit these opportunities.

In January 1990 the AMCU campus Senate passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a committee charged with the task of following up on Access is Not Enough with "significant recommendations" for further action. Pursuant to this resolution, the President of AMCU appointed, in consultation with the Executive Committee of the Campus Senate, a 15 person Committee on Excellence Through Diversity: Providing Opportunities for Black Americans at AMCU [hereinafter referred to as the ETD committee.]

1. **The Charge:** The charge AMCU's President gave to the ETD committee, was threefold:

    1. To assess the effectiveness of present programs aimed at achieving the full participation of Black Americans in all aspects of campus life

    2. To recommend change in programs that are determined to be deficient; and

    3. To suggest new strategies that are needed in order for the campus to achieve the objectives on black American participation identified in the campus five-year plan, Enhancing the AMCU Campus - An Action Plan.

Although the Committee's charge asked us to focus on opportunities for black Americans, we do so with the understanding that the phrase, "excellence through diversity," encompasses more than black-non-black or black-white relationships. [a]

By itself Access Is Not Enough [hereinafter referred to as Access] did not lead to a wide and deep consensus on what

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[a] In this study we shift between the terms black, black American and African American. In recent years the term African American has been displacing black American. Black, black American and U.S. black are terms used in U.S. government documents, the census, in laws and, since the 1970s, in court cases.

steps should be taken to improve opportunities for black Americans at AMCU. Many non-blacks questioned whether some negative experiences voiced by a number of black Americans on campus differ from those of other ethnic/racial groups. Little thought appears to have been given to the possibility that people who have been marginalized and who have acquired voice, often identify problems others also experience, and whose solution would be to the benefit of everyone.

Sometimes skepticism toward Access was cast in terms of doubt about reliance on "anecdotal" evidence--an objection, it seems, to reliance on interview-based and focus-group research strategies that do not use statistically-based group comparisons.[1]

Many others, on the other hand, mostly (although not only) black faculty, students and staff, reacted with a despairing feeling of deja-vu at what they perceived to be denial and resistance toward race-related problems confronting the campus: the inability of non-black Americans to comprehend the environment as subjectively experienced by black Americans; the failure of non-blacks to address their own unacknowledged biases; the inertial, business-as-usual capacity of established organizations to ignore issues that raise profound challenges to the status quo.

2. **The Context and Challenge**: Senior leadership at AMCU, as at other major universities, national higher education organizations and associations, have embraced "the challenge of diversity"--diversity of many overlapping social categories, including race, culture, generation, gender, nationality, socio-economic class, and sexual orientation.

AMCU's Mission Statement, approved by the State's Higher Education Commission in February 1990, states that "[w]ithin the next decade, the University seeks to be recognized for its commitment to cultural and racial diversity."

In the late Spring, early Summer of 1992 AMCU can take "bittersweet" pride in the fact that, nationally, it ranks at or near the top among majority white institutions in the number of baccalaureates conferred on black Americans; that it ranks near the top among predominantly white research universities in the number and percent of full-time black American faculty members; that it ranks near the top in the number of doctorates awarded black Americans during the decade 1979-89, and that is getting close to "top 20" among baccalaureate granting institutions from which African American doctorates earned their baccalaureate degrees.

AMCU is located in a county (recently the subject of the lead article in the New York Times Magazine)[2] with a 52-54%

African American population and a school system that is 66% African American. AMCU is located in a state with an African American population of over 20%. It is located in a region which is home to one the the largest, if not the largest, highly educated, affluent African American populations in the United States, thus on the planet. [3]

The work of our EDT committee has been undertaken with the goal of helping AMCU run much harder. For there is bitter with the sweet.

The bitter with the sweet is that AMCU has not been able to progress toward most of the key objectives identified in the 1989 Enhancement Plan--objectives to which part of our charge was keyed. The bitter with the sweet is that AMCU's high ranking is really a testimonial to how inadequate a contribution, during the last decade, most predominantly white institutions of higher education have made to the graduation of black American baccalaureate and graduate students, and to the hiring, retention and promotion of black American faculty and staff. The bitter with the sweet is that AMCU does much better at bringing in undergraduate African American students than in graduating them, and far better at hiring African American faculty than in retaining them. The bitter with the sweet is that the enrollment of undergraduate African Americans is far below the proportion of African American high school seniors in AMCU's recruitment area. The bitter with the sweet is that African American doctoral enrollments fell during the 1980s and only regained their 1980 numbers in 1991.

Heightened concern about cultural and racial diversity, at so many institutions of higher education across the nation, is impelled by the nation's changing racial demography; by dismay at "dangerous reversals of earlier minority progress" on American campuses during the 1980s; by the unhappy state of so many of our elementary and secondary schools attended by minority Americans; by continuing disparities in wealth along racial lines; and by the transformation of colleges and universities from "important but secondary institutions for distributing status and opportunity to primary institutions of growing importance." [4]

Will this renewal of concern about race and ethnicity simply fade, like a fad? Demographic changes clearly say not. The majority population of the United States will not be white in the 21st century. In less than a decade almost 50% of children in K-12 will be non-white and Hispanic. By 2010 black and Hispanics will make up 33% of the college age population.

Commenting on a study of projected ethnic changes in the classroom, made public in September 1991 by the College Board and the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, a research associate commented:

> "it's more dramatic than most people realize. Most people have a sense that this is occurring but don't realize how rapidly the changes are taking place and how dramatic the changes are." [5]

One frequently cited statistic is that white males are projected to constitute only 15% of **net** new entrants to the labor force over the 13 years from 1987 to 2000. [6]

The language with which senior leadership seeks to engage the higher education community in considering these changes is vivid. Speaking at AMCU at the fall 1990 Equity Conference, Franklyn Jennifer, President of Howard University, declared that it is too late to patch up the boat. The President of AMCU, in reply, affirmed that we have to build a new ship. "To achieve equity in the academy," he has also written, "I am convinced we must shift the types of questions we ask and the nature of the solutions proposed."

AMCU's President and Chancellor, Provost and Dean for Undergraduate Studies, together with presidents of distinguished private research universities, the Carnegie Commission on the Advancement of Teaching, and--judging by our faculty survey--AMCU faculty and deans, call for greater emphasis on the quality of research, not quantity in publications, and for swinging the pendulum toward greater emphasis on the quality of instruction. But--is this relevant to excellence through diversity? Yes. Very much so. Perhaps one of the most encouraging trends is that the growing national "movement" to place greater weight on and to improve the quality of instruction in higher education (research universities included) is on a convergence course with concern for better educational outcomes for a diverse tudent body. (This topic is addressed in another section of this report, entitled Diversity and The Faculty-Student Connection.)

Budget restraints or no budget restraints, environmental changes in the form of hue, language origin, age and gender demographics are destined to interact increasingly on many of the system's elements. Inevitably, the increasing diversity of peoples who comes to the nation's campuses brings with it "colliding perspectives about reality." The public addresses and mission statements from the highest levels offer perspectives on diversity that bump up against competing perspectives on reality of many entrenched individuals and subsystems. In "loosely coupled," open systems, as has been

emphasized, "the status quo is the only solution that cannot be vetoed." [7] The challenge of diversity requires that AMCU transform veto power and business-as-usual inertia into a positive, willing and growing commitment to change.

Shortly after the Committee on Excellence Through Diversity came into existence, the financial enhancement anticipated in AMCU's Enhancement Plan during "the magical days" of Spring 1989 quickly evanesced into major disenhancement. The 1989 Plan--whose goals are noted as points of reference in the charge given to the ETD Committee--was a request for state funding. Verbally endorsed by the Regents and the state Higher Education Commission, and applauded by the Governor and other state political figures, the plan has yet to be funded. As work on this report comes to closure, AMCU's budget cuts appear to have bottomed out, [b] and the tragic events in Los Angeles have rekindled attention to American's unresolved dilemma of race.

Although our Committee's work necessarily represents only a point-in-time assessment, we hope it will serve as one catalyst for an on-going, long-term process of self-examination and institutional change. It offers many recommendations, but promises no magical recipe. Although our report points to many problems at AMCU, we believe that critical self-examination is essential. To all who study at and work in glass houses beyond AMCU, we suggest that critical self-examination is far better than throwing stones.

3. The "Dilemma of Difference"

"Administrators and faculty should address the issue of race relations instead of avoiding it." [Black AMCU student]

"People have been denying that there are race relations problems. This is wrong. People need to be forced to face their prejudice. Whites must be made to face their 'seemingly' insignificant prejudices . . . . I find more and more that I am embarrassed to be white on this campus." [White AMCU student]

"I think that if students would take the time to get to know another student on the inside, color (race) would become irrelevant." [Black AMCU student]

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[b] Postscript Fall 1992. Budget cuts have not bottomed out. AMCU anticipates more massive cuts.

"If everyone would stop trying to make the issues race-related, I imagine that a lot of tensions created by that type of continued comparison would be reduced." [White AMCU student.]

"More minorities in high positions" Black AMCU staff member

"I am disgusted that your survey seeks to discover ways to support faculty based on race or sex rather than the quality of their research and teaching, I am embarrassed that you will ultimately institutionalize discrimination." [non-black American faculty member]

"Break down the institutional and individual racism that persists. Administrators and faculty need courses to expose themselves to their own racist tendencies, which their liberalism tends to block in their own minds." [White AMCU faculty member]

These quotes, selected from among the approximately 600 open-ended comments added to our student, faculty and staff surveys illustrate reactions to what is well-termed, "the dilemma of difference:"

"The stigma of difference may be recreated both by ignoring and by focusing on it. Decisions about education, employment, benefits, and other opportunities in society should not turn on an individual's ethnicity, disability, race, gender, religion or membership in any other group about which some have deprecating or hostile attitudes. Yet refusing to acknowledge these differences may make them continue to matter in a world constructed with some groups, but not others, in mind . . . . Social, political, and legal reform efforts to challenge exclusion and degradation on the basis of assigned traits continually run up against the danger of recreating differences by focusing upon them or of denying their enduring influence in people's lives. The dilemma of difference burdens people who have been labelled different with the stigma, degradation, or simple sense of not fitting in while leaving the majority free to feel unresponsible for and uninvolved in the problems of difference." [6]

The charge AMCU'S President gave to the ETD Committee was, in effect, a request to wrestle with "the dilemma of difference" in the context of race.

Listening to ourselves and to other people, on campus and off, talk about race-related issues and concerns, we can identify several categories into which responses to the "difference dilemma" fall. These responses come not only from different individuals, but often from the same person, depending on the issue at hand. These responses also cut across racial, ethnic and gender groups.

There are many who express a color-blind position in across-the-board terms, although behavior, conscious, semi-conscious or unconscious, is rarely, if ever, consistently color-blind in our society. Nevertheless, many who adhere to a color-blind position sincerely fear that use of color-conscious efforts to remedy racial inequalities will institutionalize a new form of discrimination.

Second, and rare, are those who see almost all solutions to disparities in racial outcomes in color-conscious terms.

Third are those who are impaled on the horns of the color-blind, color-conscious alternatives. They are caught between their color-blind, equal individual, human rights individualism, on the one horn, and their concern, on the other, to address inequalities that are related to race.

Fourth, and most common, are those who shift between the horns of the dilemma, in varying degrees, depending on the issue and the context. Their struggle is to remain faithful to the notion of equality of opportunity.

Fifth, and rarest, is the "see-no-dilemma" response. This is a rare response because the dilemma of difference only arises "in a culture that officially condemns the assigned status of inequalities, yet, <u>in practice</u>, perpetrates them."[7]

AMCU officially condemns racial inequalities. It struggles, however unevenly in its many parts, to avoid their perpetuation in practice. Thus, unlike institutes that do not condmen racial inequalities, but like every other institution that condemns racial inequality, AMCU cannot avoid the dilemma of difference.

Members of the ETD Committee could not even begin to address the question of opportunities for black Americans at College Park if its members adopted an across-the-board, color-blind position. We seek not, however, to institutionalize discrimination, but to de-institutionalize it. We seek not to live in the past, but to break from the limits the legacy from the past still imposes on too many black Americans. Members of the ETD Committee could not have accepted responsibility for the Committee's charge if we did

not value equality and pluralism. Consequently, we reject the see-no-dilemma position, as well as both an across-the board, color-blind and an across-the-board, race-conscious perspective.

We are also aware that many, perhaps most unequal racial consequences, are not brought about by purposeful racial design. One African American AMCU staff member put it this way:

> "If you scratch below the surface, many issues you pin down are not race-specific. It's a cold, politically inclined campus. People don't know whom to trust when there is limited interaction. People of color don't know whether the problem is race or just limited communication and interaction on campus."

But official exclusion from AMCU, as a matter of law and policy--Jim-Crow segregation--is dead, isn't it? And "affirmative action" has been on the books for almost 20 years--right? The answer is yes to both these questions.

So, the playing fields have been leveled, haven't they? We have good reason for "problem fatigue" don't we? The answer is no to both these questions.

Educational and employment playing fields may be more even than they were 25 to 30 years ago. But, as academic leaders and scholars repeatedly point out, there have been "dangerous reversals" in the last decade in progress toward educational equality for minority Americans.[8]

Are there ways out of the dilemma of difference? Minow, and others, suggests there are. Here's a key one:

> "Debates over affirmative action powerfully depict [the dilemma of difference], but the dilemma appears only when the background assumption is that the status quo is neutral and natural rather than part of the discriminating framework that must itself be changed."[9]

One AMCU dean framed the matter in a comparable way. To paraphrase:

> "We need to think about what the culture is and how it affects us all. If we are serious about diversity, then it requires self-examination."

4. <u>Definitions and Assumptions</u>

Many experience frustration with talk about excellence through diversity because of ambiguity in the use of these

abstract terms and lack of clarity about the unstated assumptions upon which they rest. People often do not know if they are really speaking the same language when they invoke them.

The committee uses the following terms, concepts, and assumptions:

0 **Diversity:** This is an umbrella concept that refers to a medley of overlapping categories to which our society assigns individuals, and which, therefore shape individual identities: e.g., categories of race, ethnicity, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, age bracket, religious or spiritual orientation, and disability. Differences in culture, life style, and life stage are manifestations of group-based differences. Socio-economic differences are intermixed with these other differences, especially racial ones.

0 **The Challenge of Diversity:** This phrase, the title of a recent book, subtitled "Involvement or Alienation in the Academy?" [10] refers to "the capacity of institutions" to welcome and to educate and employ successfully a far diverse population than ever before. However, a campus of diverse, under-connected peoples results in widespread feelings of isolation, of being a victim of stereotyping, of vulnerability, and feelings of being left out--feelings that undermine talented people and the excellence talented people produce. [11]

Thus, meeting the challenge of diversity requires that we define the quality of the institution by its success in dealing with diversity. It requires sustained attention to what it takes to set people up for opportunities to succeed. It requires that we emphasize "talent development" more, [12] and the individualistic, self-aggrandizing, sink-or-swim aspects of university culture less.

0 **Diversity, Individuals, and Groups:** Race, gender, color and other characteristics with which we are born, and individual identities are inextricably linked, although in complex and partial ways.

> **"[I]f the group identity is lost, a vital aspect of personality likely goes with it. Group identity is indispensable to human identity. We know ourselves through both our knowledge of others and theirs of us. Throughout history, ethnicity has been fundamental to group identity." [13]**

Research shows there are not only between group, but also within group differences in racial identity in American society.[14] Racial identity may vary with stage of life in the same individual. A sense of one's racial identity is also likley to intensify for members of a numerically dominant group--whites in this country--as they gain the experience of being a minority. Thus, to achieve excellence through diversity means we can <u>not</u> treat people as identical abstract atoms, inhabiting an ahistorical vacuum, devoid of group-based cultural differences and power relationships.

The development of group ties along racial, ethnic, gender, religious and other lines combines separation and self-affirmation. But while these vital group ties enrich, affirm and offer a sense of belonging, they cannot overcome inter-group tensions and failures of understanding. Unless racial (and other) groupings are complemented by affirming, common activities, goals and bonds across racial (and other) lines, the sense "us all"--that "we're all in this together"--will be missed.

Thus, while recognizing that individuals are shaped by the way society treats the groups to which they belong, we also place central value on appreciating and respecting persons as individuals, rather than on the basis of harmful stereotypes or indiscriminate, group-focused resentments. For race, like gender and other traits with which we are born, is but one facet of multifaceted individual beings. When viewed as unique individuals each of us can also be seen as an "intersection of countless categories."[15]

o **<u>Racial, Ethnic and Gender Identifiers</u>**: How people are defined and define themselves change as society evolves. As noted in Chapter I-1, we shift between the terms African American, black and black American in this report. Logically the term, "women and minorities" implies overlapping sets. But, to many in the United States, the term signifies non-overlapping sets--white women, on the one hand, and men and women of color, on the other. We ask our readers to consider the context when we, and others we quote, make use of this phrase.

o **<u>The Challenge of Excellence Through Diversity</u>**: How do we conceive of excellence through diversity? In one of its best senses it means, as AMCU's President has put it, that the University is "a place that enables individuals to be larger than they once were and more open of mind than they thought they could be." This speaks to a core value of an educational institution.

Addressing curriculum issues, the authors of the Washington "Minority Student Success Project" put it in a way

that is sensitive to existing imbalances, on a predominantly white campus, between whites and people of color, and between men and women:

> **"providing <u>all</u> of us with <u>both</u> mirrors and windows. Windows provide new perspectives; they encourage students to look beyond their existing views. But mirrors are also essential. They allow us to see ourselves and our own culture through role models and culturally connected materials and experiences. The problem with our current educational system is that students of color have many windows but not enough mirrors, while white students have too many mirrors on the dominant culture but not enough windows into different perspectives."** [16]

We would add to this statement that all segments on campus--faculty, administrators, and staff, not just students--need windows and mirrors. And, as one African American Administrator suggested, windows should become sliding glass doors--doors that invite people to connect across racial lines.

Our recommendation for the establishment of a Center for African American Culture at AMCU expresses our appreciation of the importance to many black Americans of having a larger mirror at AMCU--one that will reflect the diversity within the African American diaspora. Our support also indicates recognition that non-black Americans need a /sliding glass door on the African American experience. For, of course, the African American experience has always been and continues to be shaped by the relationships between black and non-blacks.

Excellence through diversity will require that we make greater use of windows, mirrors, and sliding glass doors, not only to express and to discover what is distinctive about diverse groups of us, but also to create unifying experiences and far better communication among diverse us.

Excellence through diversity means something far more enriching than merely "upping the numbers," especially if upping the incoming numbers only leads to a racially disproportionate set-up for failure and exit through revolving doors.

But, even though excellence through diversity means something more than upping the numbers, numbers do matter, especially when the minority is of a different socially defined group than the majority. A problem AMCU must address, like all institutions in which one race is predominant, is

that the presence of small numbers of minorities (however minority is defined) too often sets up a group dynamic, within working units and student organizations, that can be psychologically detrimental to minority persons.

The challenge of excellence through diversity will require faculty, administrators, students and staff to negotiate a whole new sea of emotions--emotions which will not always be comfortable. For those of us who inhabit a world primarily organized and controlled by people like ourselves, it will require that we acquire "multiple levels of consciousness," a phrase used by a contemporary African American academic to describe "the shifting back and forth between our consciousness as persons of color and the white consciousness required for survival in elite educational institutions." [17]

Thus, those of us with authority over others, need to become more aware of the power of "hidden perspectives" embedded in what we define as the norm. [18]

Those who embrace this challenge will become larger than they once were; they will therefore be far better prepared to work in, and to ascend to leadership positions in our increasingly diverse society.

Excellence must also be contextually defined. No committee can (or should) decree a comprehensive set of norms of excellence in teaching, scholarship, advising, writing, creative and performing arts, lab experiments, grantsmanship, sports, social interaction, and so on and on.

What we can suggest, however, is a broadening of our measures of quality, and of including among our measures of excellence our ability collectively and cooperatively to include diverse populations.

5. <u>The Focus and Scope of the Report</u>

The first and second parts of the three-part charge to the ETD committee asked us to "assess the effectiveness of present programs aimed at achieving the full participation of Black Americans in all aspects of campus life." We considered, although we could not systemmatically study, a number of such existing programs--both those that are overtly race-conscious and those that are not.

Our charge was not limited, however, to the assessment only of programs specifically aimed at achieving full participation of black Americans at AMCU. Nor did we consider all of those that may exist. Fortunately, the charge given to the committee did not restrict us to consideration of black-

only programs. It asked us to go beyond assessment of existing race-conscious programs, and suggest new strategies that are needed in order for the campus to achieve the objectives for black American participation stated in the unfunded Enhancement Plan. The speeches of AMCU's President also look to broader institutional and societal forces that affect differentially the opportunities of different racial and gender groups in American society.

We were particularly concerned, moreover, not to limit our understanding of factors that affect opportunities for black Americans, by restricting our consideration only to programs for ethnic minorities on campus. We offer four reasons for adopting a broader approach.

First, valuable as many ethnic minority-specific programs are, to focus on them only is a way of avoiding consideration of self-perpetuating systemic factors that limit opportunities for black Americans. Full participation of black Americans (as other groups labeled "different" by the numerically dominant and empowered) cannot be achieved without consideration of the ways in which obstacles are woven into the very fabric of how we go about the business of the university. [21] We share the perspective, as expressed by one AMCU administrator, as well as in the growing research-based literature on diversity in higher education, that we must look at the impact of systems themselves--not just at race-conscious programs. Thus, through our surveys and interviews we considered attitudes, opinions, practice and policies related to central aspects of university life.[c]

Second, ethnic minority conscious programs may themselves be ways of countering the adverse effects of systemic obstacle woven into the fabric of the university. But if they are too limited in authority and resources, and operate outside the campus mainstream, they may only have limited impact. As one program administrator put it, some minority programs serve only to "make the university look good" without being able to do much good.

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[c] Author's postscript. The way the author and 12 other committee members interpeted the charge was a source of disagreement on the committee. One committee member, who refused to endorse the report, explained his objection as follows: "it does not identify the most important and central diversity issues . . ." He did not indentify what issues not addressed are the most central and important diversity issues. The second member who refused to endorse the report explained that the report reflects an agenda and an approach that is not consistent with the President's charge to the committee." Although the two

Third, to focus only on programs specifically designed for black Americans leaves non-blacks, as implied above, uninvolved with the dilemma of difference. But opportunities for black Americans implicate us all.

Fourth, ethnic minority programs are increasingly vulnerable, legally and politically. We anticipate that many, on campus and off, will identify some with the pejorative term--"quota."

Indeed, since the Committee began its work, one of AMCU's programs for black Americans--the B scholarship program--has become the focal point of a legal challenge to race-based fellowships. The ramifications of this litigation, P v. K,[22] are national in scope, not just for race-specific fellowships, but for all kinds of race-conscious initiatives designed to counter educational and employment inequalities from which black Americans continue to suffer so disproportionately.[d]

In sum, had we limited our investigation to programs for black Americans we would have avoided the most critical questions that racial concerns pose. We would thereby have done a disservice. That is the point we try to make in by drawing on Martha Minow's discussion of the "dilemma of difference."

Our charge to grapple with the difference dilemma also required that we consider AMCU in national perspective. As but one of many institutions operating in a competitive academic market--one increasingly conscious of, and seeking to address the challenge of diversity, AMCU is in competition for ethnic minority talent, not only with other academic institutions, but also with business and industry. Considering AMCU in national perspective also adds one very important point of reference for asking and answering--compared-to-what questions?

6. A Note on Our Data Gathering

Surveys: Concerned about repeated complaints that Access Is Not Enough was based on "anecdotal" evidence, the ETD committee decided to conduct surveys to gather "hard data"--numbers--by which to document perspectives of black faculty [also students and staff], as well as to assess comparatively, issues on which perceptions differ or converge by race.

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[d] The state attorney general's office is making some kind of use of the ETD report in its briefs in support of the B fellowships in federal court.

Although perceptions do not prove that something is true by some independently provable means, surveys of perceptions are nevertheless meaningful because perceptions are the basis upon which people judge their circumstances and upon which they act. "Climates" are what people experience subjectively.

A Faculty Survey instrument was mailed in May 1991, with follow-up through August, to the population of tenure-track and tenured black American faculty at AMCU and to a random sample of non-black faculty, stratified by tenure status. Persistent efforts to secure a high return rate caused delay, but finally resulted in 100% return from non-tenured black faculty and an overall return of 90.4% from both non-tenured and tenured black faculty.[23]

We did not limit ourselves completely to racial comparisons, however. We also cross-tabulated faculty responses by tenure status, and on some questions, by gender. On some questions faculty responses differed more by tenure status and gender than by race.

An important, but necessary limitation of our faculty survey, in particular, is the absence of departmental or college variables. Faculty experiences cannot be understood without reference to departmental environments and to characteristics of different academic disciplines. But we did not ask survey respondents for departmental or college affiliation out of concern for confidentiality. We doubt we would have obtained a 90.4% return rate from black American faculty had we asked for them. As noted in section II-1, in Spring 1991, AMCU's 52 tenure track and tenured black American faculty were dispersed among 32 departments and 11 schools and colleges. Departmental and college background information would have come too close to individual identification. We relied instead on interviews with faculty from 27 different departments to gain a better understanding of faculty life as viewed from the sub-unit of the University that defines and molds so large a part of faculty careers.

The faculty questionnaires were developed with the assistance of AMCU's Survey Research Center. It was pre-tested by black and white faculty and subsequently modified in light of their debriefings and the advice of Survey Research Center staff. A number of questions were inspired by surveys used by other institutions, as well as by literature-based hunches.

Interviews: Interviews and surveys complement each other. Interviews search for "whys" that may explain the "how many" agree or disagree with statements on survey questionnaires.

They offer a somewhat better understanding of process, environments, and behaviors. They translate abstract terms like climates, hurdles, barriers, isolation, and "attitude problems" into specific and contextually understandable human experiences.

We interviewed, with the assistance of a AMCU doctoral student, 32 present and former black AMCU faculty members.[24] These 32 faculty members represent all three tenure track and tenured ranks; 27 departments; those hired with tenure and those who gained tenure within; those denied tenure and those who have not yet come up for tenure. We also interviewed many non-black faculty and administrators.

Concern for confidentiality led us to change arbitrarily some gender identifiers when we do make use of quotations.

We talked also with many administrators, African American and non-African American who provided access to data and offered their perspectives on various programs at AMCU, as well as of perceptions of what works and what needs fixing.

"Qualitative" interviews are usually not concerned with statistical generalizability, unless one interviews a population or carefully chosen random samples. We could not do that. But generalizability to a population is not always the point. If 7 black faculty respondents point to words and deeds of their chairs that they view as supportive, it is beside the point that they do not represent the population of black faculty. There are positive lessons in their experiences. Or, if 20 black faculty point to problems worthy of correction, then it is beside the point that they do not represent the entire population of black faculty. If only three faculty members express major concerns about the stress of single parenting and the tenure clock, or the tensions between the "biological clock" and the tenure clock, it does not matter that they do not represent the population of faculty. Their small numbers may simply illustrate the fact that faculty life is implicitly normed on people with help mates--an example of institutionalized anti-familyism that may operate to exclude or discourage professsionals with family responsibilities--who still are disproportionately, but not exclusively, women. Our faculty survey could not get to such issues. Interviews may. That does not make the problems less real or interview data less "scientific" than what can be learned from surveys.

Interviews make up for other limitations of surveys, including ours. Surveys rely on forced choice questions or statements that can be answered in 15-20 minutes. They miss nuances. Perhaps the greatest limitation of a single survey

that explores perceptions and opinions is that it fails to address the cumulative effect over time of varied experiences. It only takes a "snap-shot" at one point in time. Furthermore, many surveys, including ours, which compare responses of different racial groups, tend to focus on whether there are differences in ostensibly common conditions. Some sensitive racial issues are not easily addressed, however, on survey instruments sent to people of different races. Thus, the numbers surveys produce may reflect hidden bias. Questions based on unstated assumptions that people of different backgrounds experience the same conditions the same way--in other words color-blind and gender-blind survey questions--may miss important and relevant racial and gender issues.

II. AMCU BLACK FACULTY UPDATE--1991-92: WHAT DO THE OVERALL FIGURES MEAN? COMPARED TO WHAT?

A little over a decade ago, in fall 1981, there were 34 tenured and tenure-track black faculty at AMCU. In 1988-89 when Access was written, there were 51.

In Spring 1992 there were 49-50 black American tenure track and tenured assistant, associate and full professors at AMCU.

In Spring-Summer 1991 (when we conducted our survey) as in 1989, when Access was written, tenure track and tenured black American faculty were widely disbursed among 32 departments in 11 of AMCU's 14 schools and colleges.[26]

1. Compared with other American Association of Universities Institutions:

According to data compiled through the American Association of Universities Data Exchange (AAUDE), in 1991-92, as in 1989-90 and 1987-88, AMCU ranked near the top of AAU institutions in terms of the number and percentage of full-time black instructional faculty.[27]

2. Compared With all Full-time tenure Track & Tenured Faculty at AMCU:

The 49-50 tenure track and tenured black American faculty at AMCU in 1991-92 represent 3.4% (50/1489) of all tenure track and tenured faculty. The number and percent is small, as are the number and percent at other predominantly white research universities.

3. Compared With a Decade Earlier:

The number and percentage of tenure track and tenured black American faculty at AMCU inched up from 34 (2.54%), in Fall 1981, to 49-50 (3.4%) in 1991-1992.

4. Compared with the Production of Black American Doctorates in the Last Decade:

The total number and % of tenure-track and tenured black American faculty at AMCU inched up from 1981 to 1991, despite the dramatic nationwide 27.3% decline in the number of doctorates awarded to black Americans--from 1116 in 1977, the peak year for black American doctorates, to 821 in 1989.[28]

5. **Compared With the Number of Black American Doctorates with Commitments to Academic Employment:**

The number and percent of black American tenured and tenure-track faculty inched up at AMCU during the past decade despite a decrease in both the number and proportion of the declining supply of black Ph.D.s who were planning to enter academe between 1977 and 1989. The absolute number and percent with plans to enter academe fell from 66.4% of 1116 black American doctorate recipients in 1977 (thus, from 741) to 57.7% of 821 black American doctorate recipients in 1989 (thus, to 468).[29]

The number and % of black American faculty at AMCU inched up despite the fact that, during the decade 1979-1989, 52% of all doctorates earned by black Americans nationally were in education-related fields.[a] As anticipated in the University's Desegregation Plan, however, the College of Education has experienced major reductions in faculty lines in recent years. The fact that no unit in the College of Education has been targeted by the campus Planning Committee for enhancement obviously has implications for future hiring of African American faculty.

6. **Compared with The Aspirations of AMCU's Enhancement Plan:**

Tenure Track and Tenured Faculty: The number and percent of tenure-track and tenured black American faculty at AMCU is not likely to come remotely near to matching the aspirations of AMCU's 1989 five year, disenhanced Enhancement Plan.

During 1988-1989, when the Plan was submitted to the Board of Regents, there were 51 tenured and tenure-track black American faculty at AMCU. Assuming the Plan referred to tenure-track and tenured faculty its goal of doubling the number (a 100% increase) translates into 94-99 tenured and tenure-track black American faculty by 1994. As of 1991-92, however, the third year of the 5 year Enhancement Plan, there were 44--50 black American tenure track and tenured faculty at AMCU.[30] This represents a 2% decrease in tenured and tenure track black American faculty members over 1988-89.

What this data suggests is that the objective of the Enhancement Plan was not realistic. Moreover, if all the recruitment initiatives being talked about around the country are actually carried out, AMCU is very likely to find itself in a much more competitive sellers market in the foreseeable future. Thus, AMCU will have to move faster merely to stay in place.

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[a]

Non-Tenured, Non-Tenure Track Faculty: During the 1991-1992 academic year, just about half of all black, part-time and full-time faculty at AMCU were non-tenure-track instructors, lecturers and "other faculty" (N=49). [31] This represents a 29% increase over 1988-89 of black American non-tenure track faculty (49-38/38).

All Black American Faculty: The number and percentage of all black American faculty at AMCU--full-time, part-time, tenured, tenure-track and non-track faculty--is not likely to come anywhere near to double the number and percentage of those employed at AMCU in 1988-89 by 1993-94. Their total number reached 99 in 1991-92, [32] an increase of 15 (18%) over 1988-89. All of this increase is accounted for by non tenure track faculty--faculty with the most tangential relationship to campus.

III. POWER IN THE ACADEMY AND THE REVOLVING DOOR

> **"It takes an extraordinarily long time for white people to get to know black people. The irony of it is that because of race, when blacks are in positions of power they can't remain in them very long. But if we move on, who will get to know us?" Black American Faculty Administrator no longer at AMCU**

AMCU ranks near the top in the number and pecent of black American faculty employed at predominantly white research universities. Our faculty survey (Q 3h) confirms the conventional wisdom that AMCU's location is an important asset for the recruitment of black American faculty. [a] If we turn to the retention, however, AMCU's location is not enough to counter-balance many other factors that contribute to the revoloving door.

Overall figures on the total number of black American faculty tell only a limited story. Not all those identified as faculty on U.S. government Equal Employment Opportunity reporting forms are at the epicenter of the University. Untenured faculty are particularly vulnerable, of course; they face the vagaries of the promotion and tenure system and of adverse economic conditions. Faculty who are not on tenure track also lack, of course, the security and power of tenure. Nationally, between 1975 and 1986 black faculty had "the lowest . . . progression and retention rates in academe." [33]

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[a] 76% of black faculty, compared with only 41% of white faculty say that the attraction of the area in which AMCU is located was very important to their decision to accept a job offer at AMCU.

Thus, only by disaggregating overall numbers can we gain a better understanding of how black faculty have fared at AMCU.

1. Do The Overall Figures Mask a Revolving Door? . . . Yes

Access is Not Enough pointed out--correctly--that figures for the total number of black American faculty mask the number who depart through a "revolving door." [34]

2. Newly Hired Black American Faculty - All Ranks

Data and studies supplied by AMCU's Office of Institutional Studies (hereinafter OIS) & Office of Academic Affairs, permitted us to explore the "revolving door" phenomenon further, at least for **newly** hired, tenured and tenure-track faculty for the four "entry years" 1982-1985. Although a number black American faculty hired after 1985 have already left, we focus on these 4 year because they comprise the 4 most recent assistant professor cohorts whose mandatory, "up-or-out" P & T decision year has passed. [35]

Of the 14 black American faculty who were hired during the four years, 1982-1985, only one remains at AMCU. Thus the percent loss of these newly hired black American faculty was 93% percent (13/14). [36] To put it another way, the net gain in black American faculty hired as Assistant professors averaged between 1/4 of a faculty member per year.

3. Assistant Professors

Investigation of the revolving door among these junior black American faculty provides insight on the impact of AMCU's Promotion and Tenure system. Judging by data on the last three assistant professor "classes" that reached the up-or-out decision year, outcomes differ dramatically by race.

The table below documents the assistant professor promotion and tenure rates for three assistant professor cohorts who reached the mandatory P & T decision year in 1988, 1989, & 1990. [a]

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[a] This report uses the OIS definition of the rate of promotion from assistant to associate professor: the denominator consists of the total "class" or "cohort" that became tenure-track assistant professors at AMCU in the years studied. Thus it includes those who departed prior to a tenure decision, as well as those who were denied tenure. The numerator consists of all those who received a positive promotion and tenure decision, whether they remained at AMCU or not.

Promotion and Tenure
Assistant Professor Classes of 1982, 1983 and 1984[c]

"Entry Year"	1982	1983	1984	1982-84 3-Yr Total
P&T Mandatory Decision Year	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90	1982-1984
% Non-black Assistant Professors Promoted	40/77=49%	35/70=50%	28/55=51%	103/202=51%
% Black Assistant Professors Promoted	0/4=0%	0/1=0%	1/6=17%	1/11=9%

Thus, in the three entry "classes"--1982, 1983, 1984--the rate of promotion from assistant to tenured associate for black Americans was 1/11 or 9%. The 3 year promotion rate from assistant to associate of non-blacks during the same time period was 51%. We have reason to believe that if we had data for earlier years the attrition rate of black American assistant professors would look at least as disheartening. (A unofficial tally, based on the faculty-staff directory of 1979, indiates that only 1 of 22 black faculty hired in 1979--all ranks--still remains at AMCU.) [a]

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[a] Consider the implications of the revolving door among non-tenured faculty this way. Nationally, the median total time, post-BA, to the doctorate [TTD] for black Americans is 16.5 years. This means most black American faculty who begin their academic careers as assistant professors are likely to be in their mid-to-late thirties. Those who gain tenure after 7 years will be in their forties. If he or she is in the social sciences, humanities, or eduation, promotion to full professor will take 12-20 more years. Thus, at age 50 something he or she will finally gain the power that accrues to a full professorship.

Of the 11 black American assistant professors in the entry classes of 1982-84, **not one** remains at AMCU as an associate professor. If we add the 3 black American assistant professors in the class of 1985, two of whom were promoted early (one of whom has left AMCU) the four year retention rate (as distinguished from the promotion rate) rises from 0% to 7% (1/14) beginning Fall 1991. Certainly, from the perspective of increasing not only the presence, but the influence of black American faculty at AMCU, these absolute, percentage and comparative figures are very discouraging. [h]

There are, of course, other perspectives--those of the black American assistant professors who have left AMCU for what they may consider better professional opportunities elsewhere. [37]

To the extent that AMCU's revolving door reflects an improved academic job market for black American faculty, their departure cannot be viewed as a negative phenomenon from their point of view. It would be perverse indeed if concern to increase minority faculty presence created incentives to block desired career moves. Several of our interviewees made it clear

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[h] Academic Affairs and the author of the OIS promotion and tenure (P & T) studies caution that "the numbers are too few [blacks in the assistant professor population for 1983-1984] to say anything reliable." Presumably what is meant is that there are too few blacks in the population to control for the mistaken inference that there is a significant difference in the rates for whites and blacks (i.e., Type II errors). We have two problems with this logic. First, tests of significance are used to make an inference from sample to population. But the data examined by OIS is the population--cohort--of black and non-black assistant professors--not a sample. Secondly, even if tests of significance were relevant, a test of signficance answers the wrong question for the ETD committee. Think of the absurdity of where focus on tests of significance would lead a university concerned about increasing the presence of and improving the status of black Americans among its faculty. As long as there are so few black faculty it is not possible to do statistical tests; and if we can't do statistical tests then we can't say that the promotion & tenure rate for blacks differs (in a statistically significant sense) from that of whites or non-blacks. Surely it is significant that the P & T rate for black Americans in the three years--1982, 1983, & 1984--is a staggeringly low 9% (1/11). If this trend continues, then UMCP will not increase the proportion of tenured black faculty for decades, if not centuries--unless the numbers hired in at a tenured rank is high enough to compensate.

that one reason they had their eye on the door or were testing waters elsewhere was doubt that the State is sufficiently committed to education--at all levels.

But a number of our interviews with currently employed, departing and departed faculty, as well as our survey, confirms concerns about "climate" voiced in Access. We return later to issues related to "climate"--"the quality of respect and support accorded" [38] to black faculty in different departments below.

4. Associate and Full Professors

During the 8 years, 1982 to 1990, 10 black American faculty members were hired at the ranks of associate and full professor. Of this small number 5 remain. AMCU has not collected data, nor conducted studies that would permit us to assess the departure rate of black American associate and full professors over a much long period of time. Neither comprehensive interviews, nor surveys of hard-to-track former faculty were possible, given limitations of time and other resources.

What we could explore, however, is the proportion of black American associate professors currently employed at AMCU who were promoted to the rank of associate professor from within. It offers some insight into how few black American faculty currently at AMCU acquired tenure at AMCU.

5. From Assistant to Associate Professor

The initial employment years--what OIS calls "entry years"--of the 21 black American associate professors employed by AMCU during the Spring 1991 cover 23 years--1968 to 1990. Only 13 of these 21 faculty members, or 62%, moved up from within AMCU (14/22-64%). 8 others--38% were hired as associates. This breakdown means that, of black American associate professors currently employed, 3 were promoted in the 1970s and 10 in the 1980s. Thus, the current "yield" of faculty who moved up from the assistant to associate professor route is 13 over a 23 year period--little more than 1/2 a black American faculty member per year (almost one black American faculty member per year in the decade of the 80s).

6. From Associate to Full Professor:

As in the case of associate professors, AMCU has not collected data nor conducted studies that would permit us to assess the departure rate of black American full professors. We were only able to compare the proportion of full professors, currently employed at AMCU who were promoted to full within AMCU, with those who were hired in at the rank of full

professor rank. Again, this breakdown suggests how few black American faculty currenlty employed at AMCU moved up the ranks from within AMCU.

The initial employment years ("entry years") of the 12 black American full professors employed by AMCU during the Spring 1991 also cover the same 23 years--1968 to 1990--as currently employed associate professors. Only 25% of this senior group were promoted to full professor from within AMCU. 75% were hired in at the rank of full professor. This translates into a yield of less than 1/5th of a black American faculty member promoted to full professor per year, over 23 years. In the decade 1980 to 1990 only one black American associate professor was promoted to full professor at AMCU--thus 1/10th of one black American faculty member per year. One other indicator of the limits of upward mobility within AMCU is the fact that only 3 black American full professors, currently employed at AMCU, rose to that rank from assistant professor. Black American faculty are concentrated in the former divisions of Arts and Humanities, Behavioral and Social Sciences and Human and Community Resources--the three former divisions in which the rate and speed of promotion to full professor has been among the lowest in the three Associate Professor classes of 1972, 1975, and 1975 studied by OIS. [a]

If the past and present patterns, examined above, continue, the presence of black American on AMCU's faculty is not going to increase. But these patterns are not likely to continue; they are more than likely to get worse with the anticipated shift to a "scarce market" for black American faculty, not to mention faculty of all races, as more diversity initiatives take hold across the country.

We stress that concerns and problems discussed in the following sections on faculty are not unique to AMCU. They are voiced in many reports on the status of minority male and female and white female faculty that have been conducted at other universities. Thus, while we will focus on what AMCU can do, we are well aware that we operate within a national scene

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[a] As of Fall 1985--13, 11 & 9 years after promotion from assistant to associate, 33% of these classes (all non-black faculty) had been promoted to full professor. The rates vary widely by academic division: Ag. and Life Sciences 36%; Math, Physical Sciences and Engineering 50%; Behavioral & Social Sciences 25%; Arts & Humanities; 20%; Huma & Communikty Resources 17%. As of fall 1988--16, 14 and 12 years later--36.2% of these classes had been promoted to full professor. (The denominator = those who were denied promotion or who left AMCU.)

in which other institutions also acknowledge a need to do far more to recruit and support minority faculty.

III. OVERALL JOB SATISFACTION

Because of the revolving door among black American faculty at UMCP, especially among the non-tenured, and because of faculty concerns reported in Access, our faculty questionnaire asked several questions that address overall job satisfaction.

1. What Our Survey Shows:

Responses to **question 4: Overall, how satisfied are you with your current job?** points to significantly lower job satisfaction rating among non-tenured black faculty than among any other group except non-tenured women, black and white. [a]

Overall satisfaction

4. Overall, how satisfied are you with your current job?	Very Satisfied %	Somewhat Satisfied %	Somewhat Dissatisfied %	Very Dissatisfied %
Black with Tenure	24	55	10	10
White with Tenure	41	48	7	4
Black Non-Tenured	11	44	11	33
White Non-Tenured	24	52	21	3
Female Non-Tenured	0	61	17	22
Male Non-Tenured	36	39	16	10

[a] (Significance across all cells = .04). The population of non-tenured black faculty and the random sample of non-tenured white faculty comprises faculty who were still at AMCU in Spring of 1991. Returns were complete before the Fall 1991 term began. Only one of the non-tenured black faculty survey respondents had been turned down for tenure. None of the black American respondents on our survey are included in the table on p. 29 documenting the P & T rates for 1982, 1983 and 1984 entry cohorts.

We have not collapsed categories in reporting responses to this question, nor to question 5a and 5b because collapsing them would mask this differences by race on the extremes of very satisfied and very dissatisfied.

Job satisfaction ratings are also clearly related to tenure status, and gender, as well as to race.

- Only **55%** of non-tenured black, compared to **76%** of non-tenured white faculty report they are very or somewhat satisfied. **44%** of non-tenured black, compared to only **24%** of non-tenured white faculty, say they are "very or somewhat dissatisfied." Even more striking, a mere **3%** of non-tenured white faculty compared with **33%** of the non-tenured black faculty, report they are "very dissatisfied."

- Tenured black faculty report somewhat less satisfaction than tenured white faculty. **79%** of tenured black and **89%** of tenured white faculty are "very" or "somewhat satisfied." **20%** of tenured black faculty compared with **11%** of tenured white faculty are "somewhat or very dissatisfied."

- Tenured black faculty, like and non-tenured white faculty, also report far higher job satisfaction **(79%)** than do non-tenured black faculty **(55%)**.

- Cross-tabs of <u>non</u>-tenured faculty by gender also show a large difference in responses by gender. **74%** of non-tenured male faculty (black and white) are very or somewhat satisfied, compared with only **59%** of non-tenured female faculty (black and white). Moreover there is a large difference between non-tenured male and female faculty as to how satisfied they say they are. **0%** female faculty, black and white, compared with **36%** of the male faculty, black and white report they are "very satisfied." [39]

Question 18, was included as another way to get at job satisfaction: "If I had the decision to make again I would accept a faculty position at AMCU. "

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	DK/ NA %
Black w/Tenure	31	41	10	10	7
White w/Tenure	32	54	4	4	7
Black Non-Tenured	18	41	6	24	12
White Non-Tenured	13	58	16	3	10

- Large differences between non-tenured black and white faculty persist in responses to question 18. **59%** of untenured black, compared with **71%** of untenured white faculty strongly agree or agree they would accept a faculty position at UMCP if they had the decision to make again. Again, far more non-tenured black faculty strongly disagree than does any other group.

- Differences by gender also persist. **74%** of non-tenured men (black and white) compared with **58%** of untenured women (black and white) strongly agree or agree with this statement. Only **5%** of non-tenured women compared with **23%** of non-tenured men "strongly agree" they would accept a faculty position at UMCP if they had the decision to make again.

Many variables make up global job satisfaction ratings. Drawing on interviews and other survey data, we discuss some likely reasons in the sections that follow. Some reasons are ostensibly race-neutral; some indirectly race-related, and some directly race-related.

To protect the confidentialty of interviewees, gender identifiers are sometimes, but not always changed. In the interest of protecting confidentialty, we also isolate themes that emerged from a number of interviews rather than focus on an entire interview with a single person.

IV. "BEFORE ITS TOO LATE": NEGOTIATE TO SWIM

"What AMCU needs is a broad-based, comprehensive approach. It needs to realize that recruitment is serious business. It needs to look at it as a total package--salary, housing, and commitment to support you for promotion as you make your way through the tenure process. You get in, then you sink or swim or suffer in silence."

"Before I came to AMCU, I took a position elsewhere. They really wanted me. They told me what the problems were. They were open and honest. Here (at AMCU) no one talked about problems . . . not one problem. But there are problems everywhere."

"AMCU should hire honestly with a promise of support--not diminish expectations. Just respect us as human beings instead of demoralizing us."

In our interviews we asked faculty what messages they would give to AMCU to improve retention of black faculty. The messages quoted above sound variations on themes expressed by other AMCU faculty, black and non-black, and in the recommendations of studies of minority and women faculty from a number of other universities. In essence, couple the faculty personnel "system,"--from recruitment to tenure and beyond--more tightly. [40]

Before Access: Negotiate to Swim

The first and second messages from AMCU faculty members, quoted above, stress the need for a long-term, strategic, process-oriented personnel policy that connects scouting, recruitment, hiring and the creation of conditions supportive of promotability. This same message was expressed by way of reply to a question that asked what advice respondent would give new black faculty, especially untenured assistant professors. Hindsight (based on a range of 1 to 26 years' experience at AMCU) focused, in good measure, on potential AMCU faculty--on their "before access" opportunity to negotiate. We paraphrase questions faculty interviewees suggested future candidates for positions at AMCU should ask. Although most questions reflect ostensibly race netural concerns, it is possible they affect minority faculty disproprotionately.

1. How many black faculty are there and what are their promotions rates?
2. Will I have a mentor or informal faculty advisors with whom I can have a mutually supportive, caring relationship?
3. How supportive are you going to be toward the focus o f my research? Will you set me up for a kill by "peers"

with whom I have philosophical, disciplinary or metholodogical disagreements or who do not have expertise in my area of research?

4. How supportive will you be in providing material support: e.g.,studio space, lab equipment, a private office, a computer work station that links to major data bases? A common theme often expressed by faculty in the creative and performing arts was the lack of adequate studio space, equipment, and theater faciilities.
5. Must I be off and running before I even start? If so, will you help me to get up to speed if I come to AMCU?
6. How heavy will my teaching, advising, and service responsiblities be? Will they distract me from what I need to do to get tenure? Will I have the teaching and advisement load of a liberal arts faculty member and yet be evaluated by the publishing norms of a "top ten" university?
7. Will I be able to teach in my area of research specialization?
8. Will AMCU fund professional travel to present papers or will I have to pay for external professional activities out of my income?
9. Will I have to teach in summers to make ends meet?
10. What is the cost of housing in the commuting area?
11. What are the costs of child care? (Adding the costand logistics of child care to housing costs, especially fr a single parent on an assistant professor's salary makes moving to AMCU a particularly "traumatizing experience.")
12. Will I get caught up in "political battles over the direction of the department"?
13. Will I get support from other black faculty to get acclimated to the environment.
14. What is the attitudinal climate in the department?

Summing this up as advice to AMCU, the messages are: "Truth in Advertising" and "Support Future Faculty Swim Toward Tenure."

V. SETTING PEOPLE UP TO SWIM: MODELS OF SUPPORTIVE CHAIRS

1. Helping Junior Faculty Swim: The Role of Chairs

There are department chairs at AMCU who combine hiring of tenurable faculty (with or without active recruitment) with a genuine welcome and a commitment to assist non-tenured faculty swim toward tenure; and, in the case of associate professors, to swim toward a full professorship.

Verbal support is matched by deeds. These chairs are given kudos for being up front about what it takes to get promoted, for providing repeated and consistent signals (at least at the departmental level), for protecting faculty time to satisfy the

research bottom line. They support the research focus faculty brings. They try to make teaching assignments and research interests complementary. These chairs try to protect junior faculty from too many new course preparations, too many advisees, too many committee assignments and other less formal "service" demands on their time. Chairs [and deans] go to bat for them where they perceive unfair treatment.

The following quotes from our interviews offer a feel for the positive:

> "I had good rapport with the chair. The chair recruited me and from the day one was up front, detailed and realistic about promotion & tenure rates. Every year, at the beginning of the term, the chair would have a meeting about what I had done the year before and what I intended to do in terms of academic development that year. At the end of I received an evaluation of what I did, what I didn't do, and what I needed to do. These steps were repeated each year. It's important that you get that kind of feedback from your immediate superiors."

> "I've had support from the Chair and the faculty in what I've tried to do. My chair and my mentors helped insulate me from that. Here, lately I've been doing a lot more (committee work), so I guess I have to pay my dues."

> "We have a new chair who is supportive and protective of my time to do research. The . . . chair set goals and policies and rallied people around the issue of recruiting good black faculty."

> "My chair is very supportive and very excited about the line of research I want to pursue and insulates me from committee requests. He tells me 'You tell me what you want to do and how you want to do it. We aren't even going to worry about committees."

This chair did not put this junior faculty member in the position of having to risk a negative reaction if a request for committee or other kind of "service" work were declined.

Commenting on chances for promotion to full professor, a tenured faculty member noted:

"In [this discipline], if a person gets stuck somewhere, they just go somewhere else. Our department chair is mindful of that and sees no advantage in keeping someone with the label 'Associate Professor' when they can clearly be a full professor or will be in a short period of time." [a]

Faculty Relationships with Chairs: What Our Survey Shows: Questions 15, 16 and 35c on our survey asked all faculty about relationships with their chairs.

15. I would feel comfortable discussing professional concerns with my chair	Agree or Strongly Agree %	Disagree or Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know/ Not Applicable %
Black w/Tenure	72	21	7
White w/Tenure	70	26	4
Black Non-Tenured	61	39	0
White Non-Tenured	80	20	0

- Tenured faculty: An equally strong majority of black and white tenured faculty agree they would feel comfortable discussing professional concerns with their chairs.

- Non-Tenured Faculty: However, a much smaller percent of non-tenured black than non tenured white-faculty say they are comfortable discussing professional concerns with their chair, and almost twice the percentage of non-tenured black faculty (39%) than non-tenured white faculty (20%) say they are not comfortable discussing concerns with their chair.

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[a] We note the implications of market demand for faculty in certain disciplines on the attitude of chairs. Very few black faculty at AMCU (or elsewhere) are in the discipline of the respondent just quoted. Most black faculty are concentrated in disciplines for which demand has been limited during the last two decades. In American Professors: A National Resource Imperiled, Bowen and Schuster identify the "self-perception of stuckness," of "frustration over career immobility" as one of seven factors affecting faculty morale that "seemed to weigh heavily with almost all ambitious faculty members. . ." (p. 142)

- It is the tenured black faculty who are somewhat more likely to say they feel free to disagree with their chairs than do any other sub groups. One possible explantion is that several black faculty are department chairs, whereas there may be no tenured white chairs. There is no significant difference between non-tenured black and white faculty.

16. I feel free to disagree with my chair	Agree or Strongly Agree %	Disagree or Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know/ Not Applicable %
Black w/Tenure	79	14	7
White w/Tenure	70	26	4
Black Non-Tenured	72	28	0
White Non-Tenured	70	27	3

- There is no difference by race, among non-tenured faculty, regarding clarity of the chair's advice about promotion and tenure. Most notable is that although a majority of non-tenured black and white faculty indicate advice has been clear and specific, a large minority of non-tenured black and white faculty indicate they have not been given clear and specific advice about promotion and tenure. (Tenured faculty did not answer this question.)

VII. COLLEGIALITY AND ISOLATION: RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN AND OUTSIDE DEPARTMENTS

Our interviews, as our survey, point to a mix of positive, not so positive, and negative relationships with chairs.[41] But only a few faculty we interviewed, presently at or departed from AMCU, indicated they enjoyed both a positive relationship with their chairs and a positive relationships with other faculty within their departments.

1. Collegiality--Its Value

Collegiality has been defined as "membership of faculty persons in a congenial and sympathetic company of scholars in which friendships, good conversation and mutual aid can flourish."[42] Innumerable publications suggest the contribution of positive collegiality in work units to job satisfaction, productivity, and professional growth. Studies of faculty indicate that collegiality, in the form of collaboration in

scholarly writings, publications and presentations at professional meetings contributes to professional growth and productivity. Studies also identify the following specific benefits of positive collegial relationships: protection against organizational pressures; motivating feedback; positive professional identity; a sense of community; lower faculty turnover.[43]

Finding No. 3 in the Chapter on Faculty in Access Is Not Enough concludes that many black faculty members feel isolated--they do not enjoy the benefits of the kind of collegiality described in the preceding paragraph. This conclusion is consistent with a substantial body of research that deals with the dynamics of "tokenism."[b 44]

We sought to get at the issue of collegiality, and its opposite--isolation--indirectly, by asking on our survey about satisfaction with collegiality, both within and outside respondents' departments. Only one of our interviewees described himself/ herself as a loner who worried little about the absence of positive collegial interactions on campus.

2. Collegiality Within Departments--and Its Declin

In General: Quite apart from strains introduced by declining resources, supportive collegiality (in the sense defined above) seems more nostalgic myth than contemporary reality within academic departments at universities driven by the publishing imperative. American Professors, A National Resource Imperiled highlights three "megatrends" that have contributed to increasing faculty fragmentation over time, with adverse consequence for campus-based collegiality: academic specialization (and sub-specialization); discipline-defined (or sub-discipline-defined) loyalties that have superseded campus-based loyalties; and faculty heterogeneity--in other words, diversity itself, along gender, racial, religious lines, and other lines.[45]

Ernest Boyer adds to this the demoralization of the professorate as a result of "increasingly restrictive" measures of excellence that ignore multiple forms of creativity." Tension

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[b] As used in this discussion, the dynamics of tokenism refers to interaction in groups or organizational settings when individuals of one social category (race, gender, etc) are present in solo or in small proportions. Negative psychological consequences of tokenism are described in many campus-based studies of minority and white female faculty and students at research universities. Tokenism also is often used to refer to the practice, conscious or unconscious, of limiting minority or majority female presence to token numbers. This is often a manifestation of the dynamics of tokenism.

over changes in "the rules of the game"--rules that increasingly focused on publications and grants--manifests itself in faculty stratification along generational and disciplinary lines as the criteria for promotion and tenure have become more narrow and more demanding within the research/publication category. [46]

A recurrent theme of interview-based case studies of the social relationships among faculty at other research universities is that very often "competitiveness overwhelms collegiality." [a] Our survey and interviews indicate this also characterizes many AMCU departments.

In considering concerns expressed by black faculty at AMCU, or by "women and minority" faculty at other institutions, we do not mean to imply that non-black faculty, or white male faculty at AMCU, or elsewhere, are all a bunch of happy collegial clams. In contrast to Access (p. 36.) we suggest that the isolation, in the worst cases, alienation, experienced by some black faculty is a more acute case of a widely shared experience that reflects an undermining rather than stimulating form of competition in quite a number of departments. What follows are the observations of a number of present and former black faculty respondents about the absence of "congenial and sympathetic" relationships among the non-black and overwhelming male faculty in fourteen different AMCU departments.

> "It's not supportive or stimulating. It's not a collegial department. It's not racism. A lot of faculty don't like each other very much and don't make much secret of it. . . . From my perspective there's a lot of unhappiness everywhere at Maryland. There are lots of people who feel unhappy."

To closely paraphrase another person: "There's a lot of jealousy among the faculty. But I try to ignore it. If I open up to it, it might affect me."

Asked if he or she would return if offered a tenured position, one faculty member explained why not as follows:

> "If you were part of the old boy network you'd feel fine. But I didn't feel a sense of camaraderie that I had hoped to have in a faculty. But apparently this is not atypical. . . . If I had a choice of departments, I'd never choose that department again."

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[a] The authors of a 1991 report on Women in The Sciences at Harvard, put it this way: "The resulting isolation impedes research, increases stress, and may lead to abandonment of an academic scientific career."

Asked what were some negative experiences of being at AMCU, other faculty responded.

> "One of the most uncomfortable things was the political bickering in the department [at AMCU]. The department at [Univ. X] is so much more convivial and politically sane. It was such a relief being around people who were not always engaging in some form of one-upmanship all the time."

> "What was the most negative thing [about AMCU? Dealing with the egos. The department is full of people who are very egotistical."

> "It [the department] is very competitive, which is one of the reasons I was thinking of leaving. It's hard for people to really give you any assistance . . . . I need to feel part of a community."

> "The human interaction element was very bad. . . . I don't see any hope for this place. So many people are entrenched. Everyone else be damned. Until a generation dies off it won't change."

We could not, unfortunately, explore the extent to which morale and job satisfaction of black faculty is related to high morale and positive collegial relationships among non-black faculty.

Although many black faculty respondents noted the absence of supportive collegiality among white faculty, a number also expressed dissatisfaction with collegiality across racial lines as well as with other black faculty. Interviews, and open-ended responses to our survey suggest more "spirit injury" [47] than spirit elevation.

> "The older faculty are condescending and lacking the inter-personal skills to interact with black faculty. The younger faculty are more interactive and supportive."

A senior faculty member commented along these lines:

> "The department is faction ridden. Until recently it's been controlled by chairs who choose their friends to be assistant to the chair. There's no real commitment to minority talent. . . . I see the 'since we've got one now, we've done enough' syndrome at play." (paraphrased)

Another tenured faculty member described the impact of competitiveness, as follows:

"The department was divided between the older faculty and the younger faculty. The younger white colleagues who entered when I did are very competitive. As long as they thought I was inferior, I couldn't keep up with all the ways they wanted to help. But when I started publishing and my name started appearing here and there, all of a sudden support was cut off, except from m y black colleagues."

Having been rebuffed for making simple requests for assistance, one faculty member said:

"I've learned not to ask anybody for anything."

Said another:

"There's such a negative climate. You sacrifice a lot in terms of time with your family. It's not worth it to kill yourself in a climate that isn't receptive. People don't talk to you when you walk down the hall. But you can't take it personally."

And a former faculty member:

"I felt isolated. Isolation includes being ignored. It was so painful. For two years I remember riding on the elevator. Faculty never spoke to me. They didn't even reply to my good morning. But someone else gets a Hello. I was not included. I wasn't there--just insignificant."

Two junior faculty members responded to the question: "Were you made to feel welcome?" with the responses: "Not at all"; "I didn't feel wanted here at all."

A former AMCU faculty member described the AMCU department as:

"a hostile environment. You can't legislate goodwill. . . . I came home psychologically exhausted everyday."

Teaching at an historically black university has been a "liberating experience."

Another former faculty member replied to the question: "Was it a supportive environment?" as follows:

"Not at all. . . .There was no support. I felt embattled. I felt this was the strangest group of white [faculty] I had ever been around. I feel I can say that because I have always been around white academics."

As noted by one respondent the absence collegiality is related to the absence of something approaching mentoring:

"I was surprised at the number of faculty in the department that sit on editorial boards. It would have been helpful, if, at the very beginning, those editors would have sat down with me and . . . provided information about the procedures for submitting manuscripts, talked about how one can obtain calls for manuscripts, what the upcoming issues will focus on. "

We return to "mentoring" and "time and its uses" below.

3. **What Our Survey Shows: Satisfaction with Departmental Collegiality**

Question 5a on our survey asked faculty: **Since you have been at AMCU, how satisfied have you been with collegiality within your department?**

	Very or Somewhat Satisfied %	Very or Somewhat Dissatisfied %
Black w/Tenure	72	28
White w/Tenure	64	36
Black Non-Tenured	39	61
White Non-Tenured	68	32

One would expect non-tenured faculty to have lower ratings than tenured faculty. Non-tenured faculty have not been at AMCU as long, on the average as tenured faculty. And, of course, non-tenured faculty are "under the gun" of the tenure clock. Nevertheless, the difference between non-tenured black faculty and non-tenured white faculty is large: non-tenured black faculty are far less less satisfied than are non-tenured white faculty. **61%** of non-tenured black faculty compared with only **32%** of non-tenured white faculty report they are very or somewhat dissatisfied with collegiality in their department. Of the 5 non-tenured black faculty who report they have actively sought a position at another academic institution (Q 28) 100% say the "work environment" in their AMCU department is very or somewhat important in this consideration (Q 29 e). Salary is the only other variable ranked very or somewhat important to the consideration of employment elsewhere by 100% of non-tenured black faculty (Q29 b).

The fact that a higher percent of tenured black faculty rate themselves very or somewhat satisfied with departmental collegiality than any other group may be related to the fact that 46% of tenured black faculty respondents were hired with tenure, whereas only 14% of tenured white respondents were hired with tenure. Several tenured black faculty are also department chairs.) Nevertheless, the fact remains that these ratings indicate markedly less satisfaction with departmental collegiality among non-tenured black than among tenured black faculty, tenured white faculty and non-tenured white faculty.

Question 23 is related to question 5a. It asked respondents to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with the statement: **I have a sense of belonging in my department.**

	Strongly Agree or Agree %	Strongly Disagree or Disagree %	Don't Know/ Not Applicable %
Black w/Tenure	79	21	0
White w/Tenure	70	30	0
Black Non-Tenured	44	44	11
White Non-Tenured	68	32	0

Relative order of responses to this question about a sense of belonging to the department are consistent, by tenure status and race, with ratings of satisfaction with departmental collegiality. A somewhat higher percentage of tenured black faculty than tenured white faculty report they feel a sense of belonging to their departments. Ratings by non-tenured white faculty are almost the same as tenured white faculty. Again, non-tenured black faculty report considerably less sense of belonging than do any of the other three groups. Less than half of the untenured black (44%) compared with 68% of untenured white faculty SA or A they have a sense of belonging to their departments.

Informal interactions among faculty are influenced by location of office and lab. Concern voiced in a study conducted at Ohio State about the adverse effects of physical isolation on informal interaction, information sharing, and the ability to pick up cues from body language, etc., [48] inspired **questions 13, "My office or lab location aids informal interaction with other faculty,"** and **question 14, "I do most of my work off-campus."** Our survey indicates no significant difference in the ratings of black and white non-tenured faculty on either of these questions.

Among non-tenured faculty there is however, a large gender difference in response to this question. 47% of non-tenured female faculty, compared with only 13% of male faculty strongly agree or agree they do most of their work off campus.

6. Collegiality Beyond the Department

A former faculty member who left AMCU because of perceived lack of support was asked if he or she felt alienated at AMCU:

> "Alienated? No. No. Not at all. But when I left I was mad enough to shoot uzis."

Asked about returning to AMCU (if offered a satisfactory rank and salary), this was the response:

> "Yes, I would, though I would be most happy in another department. [Women's Studies was named] I loved AMCU and my heart will probably always be there."

If you leave mad enough to shoot uzis, what accounts for the love of AMCU, notwithstanding? Two things--relationships with students, [a] and "the outer campus, outside the department."

Because most black faculty are solo tokens in most departments, and because the culture of so many departments at AMCU--as at other research universities--is skewed toward interpersonal competitiveness rather than supportive collegiality, we surmised there might be a more positive ratings of collegial relationships outside departments. Extra-departmental relationships are more likely to be chosen than those within. And they are also likely to be more collaborative:

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[a] With one exception, "There was one issue the faculty, both junior and senior, those that left and those currently on board, agreed on. The most gratifying and positive experience at AMCU has been the students." J. White, August 25, 1991. Graduate student summarizing interviews with 17 present and former AMCU black American faculty.

"I served on a lot of committees, so I met a lot of people from other departments. I got a good sense of the university as a whole and I loved it."

"I've been involved in some support groups with a mostly multi-racial group of women on this campus. That has been very helpful. . . . I definitely do not feel alone on this campus, and that is of support for me."

A couple of interviewees also described supportive relationships outside the departments with black classified and associate staff members.

Several faculty, currently at or who have left AMCU commented on the support they have gotten from linkages with the Women's Studies program.

"One thing I didn't do til too late was to find other sources of support in the University [outside the department.] I did find it toward the end--in Women's Studies--I participated in a seminar. So I felt more a part of the University through meeting with these people. Til then--God--I thought this was just a horrible place." [a]

But for many faculty, especially for non-tenured and those with family and child care responsibilities, the scarce commodity--time--limits development of extra-departmental, on-campus support group ties.

7. <u>The Limits of Connections Among Black Faculty</u>

One respondent described what he/she believed to distinguish his or her experience from that of white faculty in the following terms:

"The biggest difference is the acceptance of a feeling of alienation that you get on this campus." As an undergraduate student [at a predominantly white campus] "I learned a sense of 'family' you get with other black students and other black faculty. It's critical to your success on any campus."

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[a] Two other faculty, not in Women's Studies, commented that AMCU's Women's Studies program is part of what attracted them to AMCU. A former faculty member identified the Women's Studies program as the unit with which she or he would prefer to be affiliated.

"And although it was a normal procedure for non-black faculty to walk past you and not speak, we [blacks] didn't do that to each other. Black students and black faculty were hugging each other and smiling. You got a sense somebody cared about what your were doing. It was a wonderful experience. And I experienced this whole feeling of alienation when I stepped foot on this campus. But it wasn't just from the white faculty and students, but from black faculty and students too."

Faculty expressed various concerns about relationships among black faculty and students on campus: regrets at not having more black students; regrets at lack of recognition for advising or "mentoring" minority students; regrets at the limits of time to connect with black faculty in other departments; regrets over the lack of support from tenured black colleagues.

A bright spot to which several faculty referred was the initiative taken by a senior faculty member to facilitate the linkages that "just weren't there."

Although, as noted above, several faculty commented on their personal ties to black staff, several also noted that the Black Faculty and Staff Association (BFSA) could not address their interests, qua faculty.

"Few faculty go. What we need instead is a dialogue among tenured and tenure-track faculty. Yet the administration has legitimized BFSA and let it be the voice."

Not to ignore the complexity of racial identities, and reaction to one horn of the dilemma of difference, we note that one former faculty member objected in principle to "Afro-American events":

"One of the things that disgruntled me more than anything else at the university--I kept seeing the university foster Afro-American events. Pure Afro-American. To me that's tantamount to saying we're going to support your being segregated forever. . . .I won't tolerate that . . . but now, I'm the boss."

8. What Our Survey Shows: Satisfaction with Collegiality Outside the Department

Question 5b on our survey asked faculty: **Since you have been at UMCP, how satisfied have you been with collegiality outside your department?**

	Very or Somewhat Satisfied %	Very or Somewhat Dissatisfied %	Don't Know/ Not Applicable %
Black w/Tenure	66	31	3
White w/Tenure	68	28	4
Black Non-Tenured	50	44	6
White Non-Tenured	52	35	13

Among non-tenured black faculty satisfaction with collegiality outside departments (mean = 2.59) is higher than satisfaction with collegiality within departments (mean = 2.94), although mean ratings indicate less than moderate satisfaction both within and without. Non-tenured black faculty report about the same satisfaction as non-tenured white faculty. Among non-tenured white faculty satisfaction with collegiality outside departments is lower than satisfaction with collegiality within departments.

VII. TIME AND ITS USES: DIVERSITY AND IVORY TOWER LOST

"People need to feel a sense of belonging that of necessity must come from colleagues, white and black. There is a tremendous sense of isolation on this campus because of the distances people travel to get here. But also there is something else that creates distance and isolation, and that is the pressure: to do more, write more, achieve more, join more, speak more!!! We need a "cool-down" semester or year which stresses community building and de-emphasizes judging people in terms of achievement only." Black AMCU faculty member

"Time and again, older faculty members reported a dramatic transformation in their world of work. They said in various ways that the 'life of the mind' had been badly compromised by the rapid pace and relentless pressures of contemporary academic life." [49]

Ivory Tower: A place for "uninterrupted study and reflection."

The "faculty pressured by competing obligations" is a recurring theme of studies of contemporary academic life.[50] We consider, therefore, the issue of time pressures placed on black faculty within the context of time pressures experienced by faculty generally. As the faculty member quoted above suggests, supportive, community building, collegial, cross-racial relationships are one of the most serious casualties of our "stressed out," competitive, time-pressured, academic culture.

Older faculty at AMCU may testify to the transformation, over time, of their world of work in academe. But it is younger faculty, especially non-tenured on tenure track, who are most likely to be in danger of "stress and burnout."[51] The timing of the mandatory up-or-out-tenure decision year is not theirs to schedule. The teaching, advising and service loads of junior faculty are also most often not under their control.

One enormously consequential way junior faculty can be set up to sink, or tenured associates professors set up for delayed promotions, is to impose demands on their time, explicitly and implicitly, thinkingly and thoughtlessly, that are not rewarded by the promotion and tenure system, and whose claims are not understood at different levels of the campus that sit in judgment.

A number of responses to question 40 on our faculty questionnaire--"What ONE recommendation would you make for improving retention of minority faculty at AMCU?" recommend relief from or compensation from excessive teaching, advising and service, especially among junior faculty.

> "Not overworking those who are concerned about social relations within the academy until they become exhausted." [black faculty member] "Free them [black faculty] from excessive teaching, advising and service work and allow them to pursue scholarly activities until their reputation [sic] is well established." [non-black faculty] "A do and don't booklet, i.e., don't attempt to develop two new courses and expect to get significant research accomplished" [black faculty member]. "Take into consideration and reward the extra work of mentoring minority students." [black faculty member] "Give more research support. A 2/2 instead of 3/2 course load. The most important commodity for faculty is time!" [non-black AMCU faculty member]

1. **What Our Interviewees Say**

Comments about time-pressures also arose spontaneously in a number of our interviews. A senior, non-black faculty member expressed dismay at what he observed, having serving on a 5 year review of a department in a college other than his own:

> "Teaching loads were purely a matter of rank, independent of productivity and regardless of other demands. Full professors had lighter loads than assistant and associate professors. Assistant professor had killer loads. They were know to take leave to work on a book."

A former non-tenured, black faculty member from another department, who published an award winning book with a prestigious university press after leaving AMCU, also commented indirectly, as follows, on the lack of synchronization between expectations for promotion and tenure and time required to meet them:

> "I didn't try for tenure. I resigned. I preferred to leave on good terms rather than be psychologically self-abusive. I decided in my second year that if my dissertation was not going to be published, the start-up time to get a book published for tenure was prohibitive."

This respondent went on to say:

> "When I arrived, I was the only untenured faculty member in my [sub] field and, as the only minority, I ended up on lots of committees. Colleagues said, 'you've got to start learning how to say no.' I realized after two years at AMCU, the real incentive for junior faculty is not to teach or be on any committees if you can avoid it . . . . I don't recommend my experience on how to make it. I wasted time learning lessons the hard way. AMCU was a good learning experience, but it was painful."

Non-tenured faculty members currently at AMCU spoke to absence of a margin for error: The absence of feedback and mentoring in the form of advice on how to get published in "mainstream journals," wastes time: " You don't have time to be shooting in the dark like that."

Several other junior faculty, presently at or who have left AMCU also commented on the struggle to carve out time for research, given their heavy teaching and advising loads.

> "People kept saying people on joint appointments won't make it. 'Then why did you bring me here into something you know is going to fail?' My teaching load was 5 a year. One year I had 7. I didn't know I could say no. I thought it was the dean's responsibility. I took on a course at the dean's request when the other person in my field fell ill."

Another interviewee commented on having 50 undergraduate as well as master's and doctoral advisees and professional service responsibilities to the field, as part of the land-grant missions of the department.

Some comments reflect different staffing characteristics of departments. One faculty member explained a perceived excessive workload in terms of the small size of the department:

> "Junior faculty have to do too much committee work, too much program development--the kind of work junior faculty do not do in other departments. This cuts into research time."

In addition, this respondent explained, the presence of a high proportion of non-tenure track faculty places a heavy load of advisement, program development, committee work and other forms of institutional governance on the full-time faculty who are trying to be tenurable.

Another assistant professor also linked time pressures, in part, to departmental staffing changes. The department has a large number of doctoral students.

> "Over the years, a number of faculty have left the department, leaving doctoral students in a lurch. As an assistant professor I've had to take on graduate advising for a large number of graduate students who (having stretched out their degree progress as part-time students) began working with other faculty."

Yet another non-tenured faculty member commented on being stretched too thin by, among other demands, the demands of "field-based" and practical courses he is assigned to teach. The courses not only involve added and extensive commuting time. Their focus does not support his research agenda.

A tenured faculty member explained that the attraction of working at another research university was that he/she wished to become a full professor and would have more time for publishing at the other university where there were no administrative responsibilities and minimal requests to serve on committees because of being a black faculty member.

Asked "Do you think your experience at AMCU differs from non-black faculty?" a tenured professor replied, "Yes, what is expected of you is different in several ways":

> "One, what is expected of you is different. There has been a push from the administrations to . . . . involve minorities in ways the university didn't do before. So as a black faculty member, you often find yourself on a number of different committees because of the push from above. Two, its important as a black faculty member to be seen as a role model or resource for black students. That's time consuming but important so that black students can feel they can come to you when they need too. Third, in terms of recruiting--it's important to recruit more black faculty and black students--and often you're put in that role. It's different for me too because as the only black faculty member in the department, it puts different pressures on me sometime just in educating the white faculty members as to the needs of black students or sensitivity to issues around black students."

The "Catch" is being caught between the "push from above" and the desire to assist, on the one hand--and--on the other, the pull from below and beyond--from departments and

faculty who evaluate your work, not only at AMCU but in the national arena in which faculty at research universities must make their reputations. In the case of the faculty member just quoted, the push from above is appreciated and believed to be sincere. The problem is, as a Yale Report on minority faculty puts it, various quarters and levels of the administration are not aware of each others requests, nor of the implicit as well as explicit pressures faculty experience.[52] This is one manifestation of "loose coupling" that sets people up to sink. Moreover, the administration above the department, rarely provides supportive input into departmental promotion, tenure or salary decisions.

3. **What Our Survey Shows**

Our AMCU faculty survey also explored time pressures and time uses through several different, although related questions.

Question 22 asked faculty the extent to which they agree with the following statement: **"I have enough time to spend on activities that advance my career at AMCU."**

	Strongly Agree or Agree %	Strongly Disagree or Disagree %	Don't Know/ Not Applicable %
Black w/Tenure	45	55	0
White w/Tenure	56	41	4
Black Non-Tenured	22	78	0
White Non-Tenured	52	42	7

- Tenured white faculty are more likely to agree they have enough time than do tenured black faculty.

- The biggest difference is bewteen non-tenured black faculty and all other groups. **Only 22%** of non-tenured black faculty, compared to **52%** of non-tenured white faculty strongly agree or agree they have enough time to spend on activities that advance their careers at AMCU. A smaller percentage of tenured black faculty

(45%) than tenured white faculty (52%) faculty, also strongly agree or agree they have enough time, although the difference is not as large as it is among non-tenured faculty. [a]

Question 7 asked faculty **"Overall, do you think the amount of time you spend on AMCU committee and administrative activity,"** is **"too much," "about right,"** or **"too little"?**

A higher percentage of non-tenured black faculty **(44%)** than non-tenured white faculty **(35%)**, and a higher percentage of tenured black faculty **(43%)** than tenured white faculty **(30%))** report the time they spend is "too much." There are also gender differences. **43%** of female, and **33%** of male faculty say "too much."

Responses to **question 9 (a) through 9 (f)**, indicate that group differences in subjective perception does not necessarily equate with the way faculty, as sub-groups, report how they allocate their time. **Question 9 (a) - 9 (f) asked: Since August 1990 how have you allocated your time among the following professional activities? a. research and writing b. teaching (class & preparation) c. Advising students outside of class d. Non-university professional activities (e.g., consulting, organizational service) e. Dept./ college/university service, including committees.**

When we consider the reported percentage of time non-tenured black faculty allocated to committees and service (since August 1990), and to advising students, it does not differ significantly from that reported by non-tenured white faculty. It is the tenured white faculty respondents who report the highest percentage of time allocated to service. Our interviews suggest that time allocation is discipline-dependent and therefore varies greatly by department.

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[a] Boyer notes the generation gap in the responses to the statement on the Carnegie Survey: "I hardly ever get time to give a piece of work the attention it deserves." The % who agreed dropped consistently as age brackets increased.

We explored another dimension of time, morale and job satisfaction through **question 31. "Do you have as much time for your personal & social life as you want."**

	Strongly Agree or Agree %	Strongly Disagree or Disagree %	Don't Know/ Not Applicable %
Black w/Tenure	36	64	0
White w/Tenure	48	52	0
Black Non-Tenured	44	45	11
White Non-Tenure	31	69	0
All Female	23	73	3
All Male	43	56	1

Less than half of faculty in any of the categories we identify strongly agree or agree they have enough time for personal and social life as they want. A lower percentage of tenured black faculty (36%) than tenured white faculty (48%) agree they have enough time for personal and social life as they want, whereas more non-tenured black faculty (44%) than non-tenured white faculty (31%) agree they have enough time.

Cross-tabulation indicates the gender difference is even larger than the difference by race. Overall **42%** of male faculty (black and white) compared with only **23%** of female faculty (black and white) strongly agree or agree they have as much time for their personal and social life as they want. We speculate that the gender difference may reflect different weight placed on personal and social life, and/or gender role differences in relation to family responsibilities. [a]

3. Time, Stress and The John Henry Syndrome: Feeling You Have to Do better In Order to Be seen as Equal

Another issues we did not adequately explore is whether black faculty, (and white female faculty) tend to experience more time stress because they expect more of themselves. As one interviewee put it, "You know you have to be better to be considered equal." Our survey data does not prove this, but it is not inconsistent with this perspective, frequently voiced by black and white female professionals.
Questions 26 (a) through 26 (h) asked faculty how important each of 8 activities should be for promotion and tenure. The returns show that a higher percentage of non-tenured black faculty than of non-tenured white faculty say that 5 of the 8

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[a] When studies of faculty focus on gender issues, stress resulting from competing obligations of work and family come to the fore. We did not focus systematically on the work-family bind, although responses to question 31 may partially reflect this tension. One of our interviewees commented poignantly on the traumatic tensions between the single parent role, cum housing and day care arrangements and expenses, and the pressures of junior faculty life. A recent Harvard Report put the issue this way: "Harvard University must live with its times . . . . there is no doubt that faculty who have another person to manage the affairs of daily life--and are therefore free to concentrate exclusively on research, teaching and academic affairs--can devote more time to research. However, fewer and fewer faculty come accompanied by a full--time helpmate. Almost no women do." Report on Women in the Sciences at Harvard, Feb. 1991, p. 2. See also, Gender Differences in Faculty Retention at the University of Wisconsin Madison, 1988, pp. 33-37; etc. Our survey did not explore whether different faculty groups perceive the same stressors differently. Although the study of dimensions of faculty stress noted above [Dey], found that time pressures and the lack of personal time were the most extensive sources of stress for all faculty groups, there were group differences: men reported less stress from time pressure and from the lack of personal time than did women.

activities should be very or somewhat important to promotion and tenure: a. quantity of research/publications; e. importance of advising students; f. importance of dept/university service; g. importance of external professional activities; h. importance of equity issues affecting woman and minorities).

Virtually <u>all</u> faculty, white & black, non-tenured and tenured, say that the quality of research (Q 26 (b)) and teaching (26 (d)) should be very or somewhat important to promotion and tenure. Thus, the <u>one</u> and <u>only</u> activity which a smaller percentage of non-tenured black faculty than non-tenured white faculty think should be very or somewhat important for promotion and tenure is obtaining research grants (26 (c)). Non-tenured black faculty are concentrated in arts & humanities, social sciences and education--disciplines in which external funding is particularly limited. Even so the non-tenured black percentage is still higher than tenured white and tenured black faculty percentages.

IX. <u>NO PLACE TO TURN</u>

> "Sometimes you have a tendency--black people are this way--you just endure. And then all of a sudden you get tired of enduring. By the time you get to that point, things get out of control . . . . There were no avenues. There just was no place to turn."
>
> "The University does not do enough to force departments to treats its black faculty as they should be treated. It takes a hands-off approach toward the departments . . . . The administration must almost force departments to do the right thing. The President and the Provost need to be aware of problems from the initial stage . . . . By the time you are about to leave or to come up for tenure, it's too late for the administration [beyond the department] to help. When you come up, they can only deal with the file. The university needs to monitor so you don't explode like I did."

These rueful comments were made by a former, tenured AMCU faculty member.[53] "No place to turn" is a theme reiterated by faculty, currently at and departed from AMCU, who felt they were unsupported (or worse) by their department chairs and/or faculty. "People generally suffer in silence. Then they leave."[54]

1. **To Trust and Be Trusted: A Shared a Faculty/Staff & Administrator Dilemma**

Part of the problem, touched on by the staff member quoted above, is that "[p]eople don't know whom to trust when there is limited interaction." Thus, faculty don't turn to people who might be able, as well as willing, to help because faculty don't know whom to trust.

Asked what advice he would give to new black faculty, one respondent pointed to a shared dilemma:

> "I think that it would be great if young faculty could learn immediately to trust X and take X's advice. . . You know black people tend to be very split . . . they tend to be very distrustful. But they could move through the system much better if they could learn to trust and listen to X. I wish that I knew years ago what I know now. I didn't trust X . . . . What I have learned the hard way is that people in administrative positions have to work differently from people who are faculty. Administrators cannot give their hand away. [a]

A follow-up question asked whether concerned administrators, above the department chair, could give some kind of sign or show by their behaviors that they could be trusted to help. This same respondent continued:

> "No. No. People can't just come up and say. 'Hey, look. You can trust me.' That doesn't even work. And then you hear rumors . . . from people who have a bone to pick . . . and you believe the B.S. . . . Like any new environment, man, you have to live in it a while. You just have to watch the difference between what people say and what they do."

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[a] The 1990 University of Wisconsin Study, Retaining and Promoting Women and Minority Faculty Members, speaks to this issue: "The most striking finding of the study was how little support [those in the respondent group who chose to fight] believed they got, even when senior administrators acknowledged the merits of their cases. . . . often the administrator in the best position to help had overarching loyalties to perpetrators and did nothing, or offered verbal support but no effective action." (p. 9.)

X. EQUITY OFFICERS: TOO LITTLE CLOUT

AMCU equity officers, are not, as many of them tell us, well positioned to address faculty grievances.

AMCU equity officers are not alone. A 1990 University of Wisconsin Study, Retaining and Promoting Women and Minority Faculty Members, concludes:

> "The most striking finding of the study was how little support [those in the respondent group who chose to fight] believed they got, even when senior administrators acknowledged the merits of their cases. Such respondents reported that affirmative action offices, though well-intended, lacked clout.... and that often the administrator in the best position to help had overarching loyalties to perpetrations and did nothing, or offered verbal support, but no effective action." [55]

A senior AMCU equity officer offered a similar diagnosis of the clout deficit our equity officers also face in dealing with faculty issues:

> "The primary responsibility for equity issues lies with chairs . . . . We develop policy centrally, but monitoring and implementation is decentralized. The success of the model for equity officers depends on who he or she serves and the relationship with the dean. If there's little commitment at the top, there's little opportunity for influence. And, equity administrators wear so many hats that black employees are uncertain where to turn." [56]

1. **What Our Survey Shows**

Responses to **question 17** on our faculty survey indicate very few faculty, black, non-black, male, female tenured or untenured, believe equity officers have the power and authority to deal with grievances:

Campus Equity Officers have the power and authority to resolve grievances	Agree or Strongly Agree %	Disagree or Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know/ Not Applicable %
Black w/Tenure	10	62	26
White w/Tenure	11	32	57
Black Non-Tenured	11	33	56
White Non-Tenured	10	13	77

- Thus, **only 10-11%** of any group of faculty report they agree or strongly agree equity officers have power and authority to resolve grievances. The data suggests equity officers may have been of assistance in a few rare cases, but that generally speaking faculty do not believe they are in a position to address faculty grievances.

- Another striking finding is that a much higher percent of tenured black faculty than any of the other groups say equity officers do not have power and authority to revolve grievances--and a much smaller percent of tenured black faculty than the other groups say don't know. Does this reflect the lessons of experience, at AMCU and elsewhere?

Even if Equity Offices were better positioned to to deal with faculty grievances than faculty perceive, at least with regard to acts of commission, it is doubtful they can address acts of omission or ubiquitous "climate" issues. How does one "grieve" passive manifestations of the absence of chair support, or a refusal to talk, a failure to collaborate, or failure to extend invitations? How can one grieve about exclusionary cliques, and jealousy, that adversely affect others too? How does one grieve about the felt lack of enough time to meet career goals? How does one grieve about feeling "invisible"? Inhospitable climate and

lack of support are not the usual grist for grievances. It is more likely that, "you suffer in silence and just disappear," as one of our respondents put it.

But probably more important, are the "high costs of complaining," even where the laws and institutional rules provide avenues for redress. Bringing an individual formal complaint most often means to place oneself in the demeaning role of powerless victim, and to incur the label "troublemaker." [57]

> "Individual who have been identified as 'different' by the larger community refuse benefits and avenues for redress designed for them for the same reasons that the assigned 'difference' injures them in the first place: remedial programs and complaint processes still locate the source of the difference in the 'different' person rather than in social relationships, leaving in place as the unstated norm the person who needs no benefit nor a Way to complain." [a] [58]

Responses to question 17 on our faculty survey are consistent with this research-based conclusion. A much higher percentage of untenured black (33%) than untenured white faculty (13%) disagree or strongly disagree that equity offices have power and authority to resolve grievances. These percentages should be read in conjunction with the Don't Know/Not/Applicable (DK/NA) percentages. A higher percentage of non-tenured white (77%) than non-tenured black (56%), and a higher percentage of non-tenured men (84%) than non-tenured women (50%) indicated DK/NA. These differences, combined with differences in the strongly disagree or disagree category may mean that more female than male, and more black than white faculty tried, but failed to get the help of equity officers. Another way of interpreting this data is that more black than white, and more women than men feel inequitably treated, but don't believe equity officers can be of much assistance. [59] Alternatively, it may mean that white men believe equity officers are not concerned with them.

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[a] The University of Wisconsin System study cited on the previous page concluded: "Most of the respondents suggested that women and minorities in non-supportive departments choose to disappear rather than to fight because they judge the odds of prevailing to be too long, the battle to be too draining, and the chances of being labeled a troublemaker too dangerous to their future prospects."

2. Other Official Avenues of Redress

Faculty are probably more likely to turn to line administrators than to equity officers to deal with job-related grievances. This is what responses to **Question 27a-c** suggest.

Question 27a asked: **Do you feel you have official recourse if you should have a grievance about your salary?**

	Yes %	No %	Don't Know/ Not Applicable %
Black w/Tenure	62	31	7
White w/Tenure	50	43	7
Black Non-Tenured	22	44	33
White Non-Tenured	22	47	31

A somewhat higher percentage of tenured black faculty (62%) than tenured white faculty (50%) agree they have official recourse for a grievance over salary. However, the biggest fault line on this item clearly runs between tenured and non-tenured faculty, not between black and white faculty.

A higher percentage of tenured black than tenured white faculty report they think they have official recourse about salary.

Only about a fifth of black and white untenured faculty believe they have official recourse over a salary grievance, whereas more than twice the percentage of the tenured white faculty and of the tenured black faculty agree.

Question **27b** on our faculty survey asked: Do you feel you have official recourse if you should have a grievance about your overall work load?

	Yes %	No %	Don't Know/ Not Applicable %
Black w/Tenure	62	28	10
White w/Tenure	54	39	7
Black Non-Tenured	39	44	17
White Non-Tenured	25	53	22

A considerably higher percentage of non-tenured black than non-tenured white faculty report they feel they have official recourse about overall workload. As with the question about salary (27a) the difference by tenured status is larger than by race.

Question **27c** on our faculty survey asked: Do you feel you have official recourse if you should have a grievance about promotion and tenure?

	Yes %	No %	Don't Know/ Not Applicable %
Black w/Tenure	55	21	24
White w/Tenure	52	37	11
Black Non-Tenured	33	50	17
White Non-Tenured	25	53	22

A much higher percentage of tenured faculty (black and white) feel they would have official recourse about a grievance over promotion and tenure than do non-tenured faculty (black and white). Although the difference between tenured and non-tenured faculty is large, the difference between non-tenured black and white faculty is also large. Here it is the non-tenured black faculty who are considerably more likely than non-tenured white faculty to say they have official recourse.

Questions 27a-27c do not specify particular sources of "official recourse." Presumably they are line administrators or people who have the ear of senior line administrators.

IX. LOWERING THE "HIGH COST" OF COMPLAINING: REDRESS BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE

1. The Ombudsofficer

In 1990, the Campus Senate approved a new faculty grievance procedure. This innovation has the virtue of encouraging informal resolution of grievances, with the help of an Ombuds Officer who operates outside of line authority. The new procedure also provides for the filing of formal written complaints, in consultation with a campus Ombuds Officer. The role of the Ombuds Officer is defined as:

> "a neutral and impartial officer to provide confidential and informal assistance to faculty and administrators in resolving concerns related to their work. Operating outside ordinary management structure, the Ombuds Office shall serve as counselor, fact-finder, mediator, and negotiator, but not as an advocate for any party to a dispute."

By the time this report is made public the campus will have had a new Ombuds Officer during the 1991-92 academic year. This conflict-resolution mechanism has potential to address work-related concerns for everyone, "before it's too late." The Ombuds Officer's skills at mediation and trust-building will shape the image of and therefore the effectiveness of the new grievance process. Of particular significance, and uncertain potential, is the provision authorizing a kind of "class-action" grievance:

> "Grievances by more than one faculty member may be put together in a single grievance if each faculty member signs the grievance and the material actions or inactions and issues are substantially the same for each." It should be emphasized, however, that this grievances mechanism does not apply to appeal of tenure and promotion decisions. We strongly recommend that the existence of this new conflict resolution

grievance process be well-publicized and that race and gender data be collected."

It should be noted that this grievance mechanism does not apply to appeal of tenure and promotion decisions. However, the Ombuds Officer may be able to offer informal advice as to how to prepare an appeal. We recommend that this conflict resolution-grievance mechanism be better publicized. The services of the Ombuds Officer were heavily invoked during the 1991-92 academic year, but not by African American faculty.

AMCU's new grievance process, is a promising reform. However, because of "the high costs of complaining," it may not deal adequately with pre-tenure problems.

2. **Appealing a Promotion/Tenure Decision**

According to the legal affairs staff member responsible for handling faculty appeals, AMCU does not keep records of appeals of tenure and promotion decisions. We had no way, therefore, of determining how many faculty, black or non black, have ever initiated an appeal. Nor could we find out how many appeals, if any, were successful.

AMCU is operating somewhere between its old policy on promotion and tenure and a new, recommended Policy on Appointment, Promotion, and Tenure of Faculty [hereinafter APT policy]. Forwarded to the Chancellor in June 1991, the new recommended Policy has not yet been approved by the Chancellor and returned to the campus.

The Committee recommends that the President press for speedy approval of the new policy, with the new appeals provision included. Compared with the appeals provision of AMCU's old APT policy, the new one substantially reduces (although it does not eliminate) the "high cost of complaining." It provides: "An appeal shall not be granted unless the alleged grounds for appeal are demonstrated by a preponderance of the evidence."

This language, recommended by the campus Senate and accepted by the President replaces earlier language that established "an impossible standard for establishing grounds for appeal," with a standard of proof that allows "all evidence, including evidence unavailable or unknown to the appellant" to be incorporated into an appeal decision.

The grounds for appeal of promotion and tenure decision have also been expanded in the new Policy beyond appeal of procedural violations, to include substanative violations--including decisions based on "illegal or constitutionally

impermissible" considerations of gender, race, age, nationality handicap or freedom of speech, and decisions that are arbitrary and capricious.

X. MINORITY POOL LINES (MPLs) AND THE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION DILEMMA

> **"We are measured by a different yardstick; first black, only black, best black . . . . "Oh, we'll tolerate so-and-so on our faculty, because she's the best black." Not because she's the best qualified candidate, but because she's the best qualified black candidate. She can fill the black slot. And then the rest of the slots can be filled in the usual way: with the best qualified candidates."** Stephen L. Carter [60]

One of AMCU's "programs" aimed at achieving greater participation of black Americans are "Minority Pool Lines" (MPL). Like many institutions, AMCU offers the carrot of extra lines or funds to departments that recruit black (and Caucasian women) faculty. (Some institutions call them Target of Opportunity Programs (TOP).[61] MPLs are premised, in part, on the need to counter discriminating tendencies that exist in universities as in other employment settings, the tendency toward race or gender-alike networking and "cloning."

1. What Our Interviewees Say

Most, but not all black faculty we interviewed, expressed support, on balance, for race [and gender] focused MPLs--support, that is, in the sense that one supports a lesser evil over worse alternatives. Like Banneker scholarships, and minority graduate fellowships, MPLs epitomize the "dilemma of difference"--the "double-edged" sword of affirmative action.

> "The pool lines are a double-edged sword because departments then do not have to use their resources, and they say to the President: 'If you want that colored girl, use your money' and that creates a differential status within the department . . . . Maybe we can't get around it given the existing realities. If I were President would I expand them and argue for their expansion? Probably, in the world as it exists, yes."

The primary concern about MPLs is that they are too often used in a demeaning and stigmatizing manner. A faculty member hired on an MPL line may likely be robbed of the opportunity to be viewed as simply "the best"--the MVP.

"I found out after I was hired that I was the top candidate. But they didn't offer me the position directly. The department used the pool money. I was told later that this was an opportunity for the department to "have its cake and eat it too."

Several faculty indicated they were told that they were hired because of "external pressure from the state."

Others commented on the absence of any internalized sense of commitment to minority hiring on the part of certain administrators. "I've heard a lot of talk but I haven't seen much action." One professor said he talked to the Dean about the absence of a minority person with any significant administrative position in the college. "The Dean's response was 'you find them and we will consider them.' That's no way to respond."

But it is not clear that the "stigma" would be absent even when black faculty are hired on regular lines. Nor was it clear that departments would hire black faculty without the incentive of the pool lines. "Many departments will only recruit a minority faculty because they have a pool line."

Acknowledging the MPL dilemma, most interviewees still regard them as a needed way of helping black faculty get "their foot in the door." "They should be used for departments that are sincere in their recruitment of minority faculty." "Whatever it takes to get black faculty here is what they should do. But they shouldn't restrict recruitment of black faculty to those lines." Some also argue for more inclusive MPLs, to include not only African Americans, but Latinos, and Asians. One faculty member indicated that MPL monies were lumping non-minority women and minority men and women together, putting these two groups in competition.

Several faculty we interviewed, who were recruited with MPL funds, felt they had been supported by and made to feel welcomed by their chairs or more senior administrators. With exceptions, those who expressed these positive feelings are more likely to be senior faculty, hired in at a tenured rank. These are people with already developed national reputations--and that--as one faculty member stressed, "brings personal power." AMCU needs me more than I need AMCU. But,

"If you're on the bottom of the totem pole and perceived as needy, they respond to you differently."

Another senior faculty member who was recruited at the top indicated that racial isolation and prejudice were not a problem in his department. He attributed this to "the allocation of power." There are other black faculty in the

department and the chair is black. Their presence mitigates against overt prejudice. The chair's role is a powerful one since the chair sits on many committees which affect the career trajectory of white as well as black faculty in the department.

One faculty member who moved up from an untenured to tenured position at AMCU also expressed positive feeling about the way he was recruited and supported by his chair: "We have a good rapport. From day one the chair was up front, detailed, and realistic about the P & T rates." Top administrators were also supportive and that creates "a sense of community." But .... to be continued under another heading.

Several faculty noted that they were told after being hired that they were recruited as part of AMCU's efforts to recruit minorities and women. As individuals they felt "invisible."

2. **Consequences of Allowing Departments to Have their Cake and Eat it Too: "Funds-Switching":**

Have Your Cake & Eat It Too: "Funds-Switching": If we assume that departments would fail to recruit minority faculty without the MPL carrot, then they are responsible for increasing minority faculty presence. But MPLs are subject to the "fund switch" temptation that plagues scholarships and fellowship programs targeted on particular groups of people:[62] that is, knowing there are separate pools of money (and lines) for minority hiring, departments may fail to bring minority faculty aboard on "regular" lines when they could. If this happens in disciplines in which the supply of recruitable minority faculty is not a limiting factor, pool lines are not then used to maximum advantage. In other words, they may encourage the hiring of "token" minorities--the isolated foot in the door--but not to the hiring of what at least hints at a "critical mass." One non-black faculty member commented on the chair's inquiry about names to try for a minority pool line:

> "I asked three highly recommended minority candidates to send in their vitaes. As far as I can tell, the chair never even considered the possiblity of hiring more than one of these people. In fact, I never heard anything again, other than a shrug, from the chair or the dean. Now I feel embarrased with my minority contacts."

In a multi-layered university, with clogged channels of communications some one should be clearly in charge of strategic overview of uses of MPLs.

XIII. MENTORING: YES, BUT--CONSIDER WITH CARE

Mentoring is so often mentioned in the literature that it seems to promise the magic bullet. It is emphasized in many reports on women and minority faculty at other universities as one way to counteract the problem of professional and personal isolation experienced by junior faculty, especially those who are in some way "different" from the norm-setting, tenure granting majority.[63] Mentoring was also mentioned in a high proportion of our interviews, especially by untenured faculty, as well as in the open-ended comments appended to our faculty survey.

Mentoring is a grab bag term that refers to some or all of the following: a psychologically supportive relationship in which a senior mentor or mentors help more novice faculty with one or more of the following: professional contacts, grant applications, publishing strategies, coaching on what it take to get promoted, equipment sharing, feedback on manuscripts. In some fields--but it seems increasingly rare in today's sub-specialized research universities--it may involve research collaboration. In fact, in a number of departments research collaboration is discouraged, even penalized:

> "The model is based on original, non-collaborative scholarship at the expense of everything else. They value publishing individually but not collaboratively, because it's difficult to discern the contributions that one would make in a jointly published article."

As noted in section 2-5, some faculty we interviewed credited their chairs with positive aspects of mentoring, particularly coaching for tenure and promotion, coupled with the creation of the conditions believed necessary for tenure and promotion. A number of other faculty spoke of lack of support, inconsistent signals, especially with a change in chairs, and insensitivity.

On the assumption that coaching for tenure and promotion should be one of the key responsibilities of all chairs, this section focuses on mentor relationships with faculty who do not hold administrative positions.

1. Prerequisites for Success

The literature related to mentoring, as well as faculty we interviewed also point to prerequisites for successful

mentoring and the dangers of misconceived, mechanical mentoring programs.[a]

A good mentoring relationship cannot be commanded: "Mentoring is very personal as well as professional" said one AMCU faculty member. Successful mentoring is based on trusting communications, mutual respect, and mutual benefit. Positive mentoring and collegial relationships may well be exemplified most in lab sciences in which collaborative research is the only way to do research and in which the institution invests heavily in the junior scientist. Because the number of black American faculty are so few in the lab sciences at AMCU, however, we hesitate to overgeneralize.

2. <u>Positive Experiences</u>

Our interviews identified instructive cases of successful, informal, tenure-supportive mentor relationships within their AMCU departments and without:

> "In my case there are a couple of people in the department that I work very closely with; we didn't have any joint projects per se, but we had a small group. I was able to borrow equipment and talk to them on various issues [in the discipline generally.] We'd go to the same meetings. They were very helpful in letting me know what would be necessary . . . .For anybody to make it they need to have mentors, someone to make sure they are doing the right things and to protect them from getting on too many committees, and protect them from having too much of their contracts scarfed off by administrators."

Another faculty member described a similar relationship in a different department: The new chair was supportive, helpful in securing funds for research grants, student help, technical assistance, equipment and supplies. He did not feel isolated. Colleagues, including black colleagues were supportive of his work. His research was both collaborative and independent.[64]

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[a] "Supportive departments had officially recognized mentoring policies, although they resisted mechanical matches imposed by the department." University of Wisconsin System, <u>Retaining and Promoting Women and Minority Faculty Members</u>, p. 11. "The level of support provided by informal mentors was considerably higher than that from institutionally established relationships." Laurie Reed <u>et. al.</u>, <u>Gender Differences in Faculty Retention at the University of Wisconsin-Madison</u> (1988), p. 25.

Commenting also on a successful informal mentoring relationship--one limited to tenure coaching--another interviewee said: "It's based on an informal relationship that comes from being colleagues who care about each other and each others'work."

A faculty member, who retained ties to a mentor with whom a professional relationship began prior to coming to AMCU called it "invaluable." That tie is so invaluable, in fact, that it is exerting a pull to draw this AMCU faculty member elsewhere.

> "I tried to replicate this ['invaluable' relationship] with junior faculty at AMCU--by monthly meetings a which we read each others writing. That, however, doesn't always work if there isn't a congruence of interest between tenured and junior faculty."

Because of specialization congruence of interest is growing increasingly rare within research universities. For black American faculty who are "tokens" in their departments, and who are hired because of Minority Pool Line incentives, it may well be even less common than for other groups.

3. Negative Experiences

Other stories record the absence of any thought given to something approaching a mentor relationship in non-supportive, "sink or swim" departments:

> "It's not always because of color. It's who has an affinity to see you grow versus those who could care less whether you grow or not. The [tenured faculty] felt 'I have mine.'"

Having to bearing the burden of asking for help can put a junior member in this Catch-22:

> "If you say you need help, people view you as less than scholarly. If you don't do it, you have hell to pay come time for promotion. It's a trap."

A faculty member who gave the chair high marks described the senior faculty in the department as "condescending and lacking in interpersonal skills to interact with black faculty." She found the younger faculty more interactive and supportive.

The worst example points to outright rebuff of the initiatives taken by a junior faculty member:

"I needed someone, to talk to. A full professor discouraged me from talking with him. He said I would be signing my own death warrant. There were so many cliques . . . . I went to another full professor and told him about my isolation and asked for help. He said I was not in his area and suggested someone else who likes women. . . . There were faculty meetings to discuss what it meant to be a mentor. At a meeting of tenured faculty someone said 'it's painful to be a mentor. If you don't make it, then the mentor hurts.'"

As noted by several faculty we interviewed, assigning mentors not only may not work; it could hurt. If there is a mismatch "things may not work out in the long run. It could be a waste of time."

An unstated assumption about mentoring is that senior faculty have the knowledge, will, experience, and connections to play the role of mentor. But in many departments, or departmental sub-units there may be no one who can serve the role of mentor under contemporary requirements for promotion. Junior faculty may be more research-oriented than senior faculty. (The fact is, of course, there are tenured faculty who, caught by changes in expectations over time, and might themselves benefit from supportive mentoring.)

Another obstacle is that the research focus of junior faculty may challenge, or be out of sync with the research focus of senior, "mainstream" faculty. Thus, formally assigned mentorships could put some junior faculty in the untenable position of having to humor their putative mentor, or to make a break, at the risk of gaining a potential detractor. [65]

Where the prerequisites for successful mentoring do not exist within departments (and even where they do) what can be done? Verbalized one way or another, several interviewees concurred with the following advice:

"Chairs and deans can help by having informal social gatherings where you get to meet people. You can pick up the ball from there."

XIV. DIVERSITY AND THE REWARD SYSTEM

"It is possible to define the work of faculty in ways that reflect more realistically the full range of academic and civic mandates?" Ernest Boyer, Scholarship Reconsidered

AMCU's 1990 mission statement, noted in the introduction to the report, states that AMCU seeks to be recognized within the next decade for its commitment to cultural and racial diversity.

This diversity mission will require many players to act as agents of making diversity work. The irony of the diversity mission is that the extrinsic, institutionally conferred rewards for engaging in the kinds of activities that contribute to the process of welcoming and educating successfully more diverse populations, are the ones to which the campus culture accords the least honor: teaching, advising and service. Moreover, it is probably fair to say that quality contributions in these categories are not readily or adequately measured at present.

Our surveys, interviews, and analysis of the literature point to some ingrained, institutionalized patterns of thought at AMCU, as at other universities, that are at cross-purposes with excellence through diversity within and among Americans of different races/ethnicities and genders.

Working at excellence through diversity takes time--in the form of scouting, searching, advising, nurturing talent, advising, engaging students actively in the learning process, networking, mentoring, resolving grievances, and much much more. Excellence through diversity among faculty and students can only come about with the commitment and involvement of faculty. We do not mean every faculty member must involved equally or in the same way. But a significant number of faculty members must be.

It is not absurd to expect that excellence through diversity will be fostered by faculty who do not believe they will be rewarded for working on activities that contribute to it, or worse, who may be penalized, at least indirectly if they do, because it takes time away from what is counted and rewarded? Yet is this not the present, manifest irrationality of our loosely coupled faculty reward system?

In our Chapter on DIVERSITY AND THE FACULTY-STUDENT CONNECTION, we discuss faculty perceptions of the importance for promotion and tenure of two key activities that comprise faculty-student interaction--teaching and advising. **45%** of all faculty report they think teaching actually is very or

somewhat important. In other words, a majority of faculty respondents (55%) report that they think teaching actually is "not very" or "not at all important" for promotion and tenure. An overwhelming majority (79%) also report that advising students is "not very" or "not at all important" to promotion and tenure.

What about faculty responses to a question that focuses directly on diversity? How do faculty perceive the weight accorded for promotion and tenure to involvement in issues affecting woman and minorities?

1. The Importance of Involvement With Equity Issues: What Our Survey Shows

What Our Survey Shows: Questions 24, 25, and 26 (h) asked faculty "How important involvement in equity issues affecting minorities and women for promotion and tenure" from three perspectives: as you interpret official policy, as you think it actually is and as you think it should be.

h. Importance of Equity Issues									
	24h As you interpret official U. policy			25h As you think actually is			26h As you think it should be		
	Very or Somewhat Important %	Not Very or Not at all Important %	DK / NA %	Very or Somewhat Important %	Not Very or Not at all Important %	DK / NA %	Very or Somewhat Important %	Not Very or Not at all Important %	DK / NA %
All Faculty	16	76	9	17	79	4	50	48	2
Black w/tenure	11	89	0	3	97	0	72	24	3
White w/tenure	19	77	4	26	67	7	36	61	4
Black non-tenured	28	67	6	28	67	6	67	33	0
White non-tenured	10	68	23	16	81	3	34	66	0
All Women	29	68	3	23	74	4	71	29	0
All Men	9	79	12	14	81	5	40	55	5
Deans (N=11)	23	46	31	9	73	18	59	32	9

- The % of all faculty who say "very or somewhat important" to involvement in equity issues rises as the stem question changes from "official" (16%) and "actually is" (17%) to "should be" (50%).

- The disparity between "official" (11%) "actually is" (3%) and "should be" (72%) is greatest among tenured black faculty.

- Black & white differences on "should be" are large. 70% of all black faculty, compared with only 35% of all white faculty report that involvement in equity issues affecting women and minorities "should be" "very" or "somewhat important" for promotion and tenure.

- Racial differences mask an almost equally large gender difference. Male & female differences on "should be" are also large. 71% of all female faculty (black and white) compared with 40% of all male faculty (black and white) report that involvement in equity issues "should be" very or somewhat important for promotion and tenure.

Admittedly questions 24-26 (h) could be clearer. Respondents may consider involvement with issues affecting women and minorities to be components of teaching, research, advising, and service. And we did not identify specific forms of involvement with equity issues. Neverthless the data is not inconsistent with the interpretation that equity issues are not perceived as actually counting for much. We suggest on a future survey that questions be framed differently.

Our faculty survey results suggests that Boyer's question--"It is possible to define the work of faculty in ways that reflect more realistically the full range of academic and civic mandates?"--would be answered in the affirmative if deans and faculty were to vote on promotion and tenure cases as they respond to the "should be" segment of the question asking about the importance of equity issues to promotion and tenure.

Our survey returns also suggest that many faculty experience a tension between the research and teaching roles that may have a negative impact on the retention of AMCU students.

2. From Perceptions of How It "Actually Is," to Views of How It "Should Be": Eight Activities and Their Importance for Promotion & Tenure

If we combine the perceptions of all faculty respondents and compare the percentage of those who say each of eight activities actually is "very or somewhat important" for

promotion and tenure with the percentage who say each of the eight should be "very or somewhat important for promotion and tenure, the results are quite amazing. The biggest shift by far from actually is to should be are on the activities of advising students (+56%), teaching (+5%), department/ college/university service (+39%), and equity issues (+33%). Advising students moves from 7th to 4th place; teaching moves from 5th to 2nd place. Equity issues remain in 8th place notwithstanding the large jump (+33%) from actually is to should be.

Faculty Survey Percent of All Faculty Who Report Each of the Following Eight Activities					
25 actually is "very or somewhat important" for promotion and tenure			26 should be "very or somewhat important" for promotion and tenure		% Change from actual to should be
1.	Quantity of research publications	95%	3.	Quantity of research publications	81%	-14%
2.	Quality of research publications	91%	1.	Quality of research publications	99%	+ 8%
3.	Obtaining research grants	87%	6.	Obtaining research grants	73%	-14%
4.	External professional activities	47%	7.	External professional activities	63%	+16%
5.	Teaching	45%	2.	Teaching	97%	+52%
6.	Department/college/ university service	35%	5.	Department/college/ university service	74%	+39%
7.	Advising students	20%	4.	Advising students	76%	+56%
8.	Equity issues	17%	8.	Equity issues	50%	+33%

Question 1 on our survey asked faculty the extent to which they agree with the statement **Involvement with minority issues on campus helps my career advancement at AMCU.**

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know/ Not Applicable %
Black w/Tenure	7	14	50	25	4
White w/Tenure	4	11	22	11	52
Black Non-Tenured	11	11	39	11	28
White Non-Tenured	3	13	23	16	45

This table suggests several important compared-to-what observations.

- About 0-1% of black faculty (tenured and non-tenured) "strongly agree" or "agree" involvement with minority issues helps their career advancement at AMCU, compared with 15-16% of white faculty (tenured and non-tenured). Only a small percent of any group strongly agree involvement helps their careers.

- It is the disagree categories that the black/white differences are most striking. A very large majority of tenured black faculty (75%), compared with only 33% of tenured white faculty, say involvement does not help their career advancement. And 50% of non-tenured black faculty, compared with 39% of non-tenured white faculty say so.

- Racial differences mask a large gender difference in responses to this question too. 33% of the female faculty, white and black, compared with only 1% of the male faculty, white and black "strongly agree" or "agree" involvement with minority issues on campus helps their careers.

What a number of black, but not only black faculty, may be saying is that involvement in minority issues actually hurts their advancment at AMCU. We were unable to explore the extent to which faculty perceive involvement with minority issues as not helping career advancement because it is unrewarded and takes time from what is rewarded, and the extent to which faculty believe involvement actually risks negative repercussions.

ENDNOTES

1. Studies of minority and majority female faculty and graduate students conducted by other universities--e.g., Harvard, Indiana-Bloomington, Wisconsin-Madison, University of Wisconsin System, University of Michigan, Berkeley, Yale--to name a few, have used focus groups and interview strategies. One reason is that in the case of faculty and graduate students, the number of women and minorities are so small that inquiries "could not have a statistical basis." See, e.g., Report on Women in the Sciences at Harvard, February 1991, p. 10.

2. David J. Dent, "The New Black Suburbs," The New York Times Magazine, June 14, 1992, pp. 18-25.

3. Id., p. 24.

4. Orfield, "College Opportunity," p. 317. [Emphasis added.]

5. K. De Witt, "Large Increase is Predicted in Minorities in U.S. Schools," New York Times, Sept. 13, 1991, p. A 14, col.1. According to the article the projected percentages of enrolled public school students in 1995 in the state of Maryland who will be nonwhite, or Hispanic, or both, ranges from 29 and 49%. See also, Andrew Hacker, Black and White: Separate, Hostile, Unequal, (Scribner's, 1992)

6. Workforce 2000: Work and Workers For the Twenty-First Century, William B. Johnston, Project Director (Hudson Institute, 1987, Tenth Printing, 1991), p.xiii. The word "net" was missing from earlier printings of Workforce 2000, begetting skepticism about the projection.

7. Clark Kerr, "Postscript 1982" Change, Oct. 1982, p. 30, as quoted by Robert Birnbaum in, How Colleges Work The Cybernetics of Academic Organization and Leadership (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1988), pp. 15-16.

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6. Martha Minow, 1990. Making All the Difference, Inclusion, Exclusion, and American Law (Cornell University Press, 1990),

pp. 20-21 & pp. 47-48. Minow's exploration of the dilemma of difference includes consideration of gender, age, language, religion, and disability, as well as race and ethnicity.

7. Minow, Making All The Difference, p. 79 [Emphasis added].

8. Gary Orfield, "Public Policy and College Opportunity," in "Changing Patterns of Opportunity and Higher Education," Special Issue, 98 American Journal of Educ. (Aug. 1990).

9. Minow, Making All The Difference, pp. 74-75.

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10. Daryl G. Smith, The Challenge of Diversity: Involvement or Alienation in the Academy? (Washington: ASHE-ERIC Report, 1989).

11. "The theme of alienation . . . . is a powerful voice in the literature concerning racial and ethnic minorities. It is also present in the literature focusing on women, the disabled, and other non-traditional groups." Smith, The Challenge of Diversity, p. 1.

12. See, e.g., Alexander Astin, Achieving Educational Excellence, Jossey-Bass, (1985); p. 77, and Richard Richardson and ELizabeth Skinner, Achieving Quality and Diversity: Universities in A Multicultural Soociety, ACE-MacMillan (1991), pp. 7-8; Patricia Gumport, "The Research Imperative," (Stanford, 1989) (unpublished manuscript) (A case study of "On the Move University.")

13. Adrien Katherine Wing, "Brief Reflections Toward a Multiplicative Theory of Being," Unpublished manucript, University of Iowa School of Law, 1990.

14. T. A. Parham & Janet Helms, "Relation of Racial Identity Attitudes to Self-Actualization and Affectvive States of Black Students," Vol. 32, Journal of Counseling Psyche, (1985).

15. Minow, Making All The Difference, p. 22.

16. Carolyn Brewer, "Minority Student Success in College: What Works," Compiled for "Minority Student Success Project," A Collaborative Project of the Washington State Board for Community College Education and the Washington Center for Undergraduate Education, 1990, p. 4. This statement draws on Emily Style, "Curriculum as Windows and Mirrors." In Listening for All Voices: Gender Balancing the School Curriculum. Oak Knoll school, Summit, New Jersey.

17. Adrien Katherine Wing, "Brief Reflections Toward a Multiplicative Theory of Being." The term expands on W.E.B. DuBois' term "double consciousness"--the sensation of "twoness," "the sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others." "Members of minority groups have often had to become conversant with the world view of the majority while also trying preserve their own." Minow, p. 68.

18. Minow, Making All the Difference, p. 56.

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21. As the chief author of a recent report on problems for women in the sciences at Harvard put it: "Many cases [of women not attracted and women lost] don't involve people of ill will, just people doing what they've always done and not realizing the way in which they operate does shut certain people out" (Barbara Grosz, as quoted in "Outnumbered and Underconnected," Harvard Alumni Magazine, May-June 1991, p. 8. See, FAS Standing Committee on the Status of Women, Report On Women in the Sciences at Harvard, Part I: Junior Faculty and Graduate Students, Harvard University, February, 1991.

22. The federal 4th Circuit Court of Appeals has held that UMCP did not sustain its burden of proving that the Banneker scholarship program is necessary to remedy the present effects of past discriminantion. Without such proof the scholarship program would be in volation of the Equal Protection Clause of the U.S. Constitution. 956 F. 2d 52 (4th Cir. 1992); F. 2d (4th Cir. 1992) (rehearing en banc). As we end the report, UMCP is deliberating whether what strategy to follow from here.

23. This compares very favorably with the 54.5% completion rate on the 1989 National Survey of Faculty conducted by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. See, Ernest L. Boyer, Scholarship Reconsidered, (Princeton, N.J. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1990).

24. 18 of the 32 interviews with black faculty were conducted by Janice White, a UMCP doctoral student in Higher Education.

25. Copies of our questionnaires and survey returns, including open-ended comments, will be kept on file in the President's office.

departments.

26. During Spring-Summer 1991, when we mailed out our survey, their numbers by college were as follows: Arts and Humanities = 20; Behavioral and Social Sciences = 13; Education = 5; Human Ecology = 4; Computer Science, Math & Physical Sciences = 3; Health & Human Performance = 2; Journalism = 1; Lib/Info = 1; Life Sciences = 1; Agriculture = 1; Business & Management = 1. There were no black faculty in the Schools of Architecture and Public Affairs or in the College of Engineering.

27. The Association of American Universities (AAU) comprises both public and private universities that are elected to membership. According to U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, "1988 National Survey of Postsecondary Faculty," "black" faculty comprised 2% of full-time regular faculty at public research universities in fall 1987 (6% at private research universities). Source: Federal EEO-6 report forms, required by EEOC, the Office for Civil Rights, the National Center for Education Statistics in the U.S. Dept. of Education, and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs. Forms from 28 institutions for 1988-89 were made available to the committee by AMCU's Office of Institutional Studies. In March 1992 EEO-6 report forms from AAU institutions for 1991-92 were made available to the committee. The next bi-annual AAUDE update will not be available until early 1994.

28. Sources: National Research Council, Summary Report, Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities (Washington, D.C. 1980-89); Deborah Carter & Reginald Wilson, Minorities in Higher Education: Ninth Annual Status Report 1990 (Washington, D.C: American Council on Education, 1991); Shirley V. Brown, Increasing Minority Faculty: An Elusive Goal (Princeton: ETS, 1988). Black American doctorates decreased in every year but two between 1979-89. The decline differs dramatically by gender. Black Americans earned 23% fewer doctorates in 1989 than in 1979. This figure masks a significant difference by gender. Black American men earned 41% fewer doctorates, whereas the number of doctorates earned by black

American women was 3.5% less in 1989 than 1979. The numbers increased in 1990 for the first time since 1977, and again in 1991.

29. Sources: Brown, Increasing Minority Faculty and National Research Council, Summary Report 1989; ACE. During the same time period the number and % of white American doctorates with committed plans to enter academe also fell, but to a lesser extent: from 58.2% of white doctorates in 1977 to 51.5% of white doctorates in 1989 (in absolute numbers from 13,424 to 10,654); i.e., by 20.6%. Although the absolute number of Asian American and Hispanic American doctorates rose, the % of their small numbers with committed plans to enter academe also declined.

30. Source: OIS, Newsletter, April/May 1992.

31. The May/April 1992 Newsletter published by UMCP's Office of Institutional Studies (OIS), reports that 49% of all full-time and part-time black American faculty were employed in the categories of "Instructor." "Lecturer" and "Other Faculty." 42% of all faculty of all ethnic groups and nationalities combined (including black American) were in these non tenure-track categories.

32. OIS Newsletter, April/May 1992.

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1. Shirley Vining Brown, "Increasing Minority Faculty: An Elusive Goal," (Princeton: GRE-ETS, 1988), pp. 25-26.

34. In 1991-92 the percentage of tenure track and tenured women faculty (part-time and full-time), of all races, was 19.3)%, 2.3 percentage points higher than 12 years earlier, in 1989-90 when they represented 17% of tenure track and tenured faculty. These figures suggest a revolving door for women, too.

35. A list of all black faculty hired since October 1981 & five promotion and tenure studies which were released to us in early 1991. Regretably, these labor-intensive studies, based on data pulled from individual personnel files, only begin with the "entry year" 1982. Efforts to explore the extent of the revolving door in earlier years were stymied by lack of data. Academic Affairs' data base only records current employees. Hence it has "no historical record." Faculty who resign or retire are "zapped" from the records. The change from the 5th to 6th year, mandatory up-or-out decision began with the assistant professor class of 1984.

It should be noted that only one other AAU university was either willing or able to share, at the request of OIS, comparable data

for their institution--even though the data exchange preserves the confidentiality of reporting institutions.

36. For lack of an adequate data base, we were not able to calculate retention in the same way as has the University of Wisconsin system--that is, the number minority faculty lost in particular years (regardless of their entry year) divided by the number hired in those same years. See, M. J. Swoboda, Remarks to the Board of Regents on the Equal Employment Opportunities Report, June 6, 1991.

37. Stanford, Amherst, Duke, Reed, Brookings, American University, Howard, Tuskegee, University of Minnesota, Nebraska and Arizona State, are some of the institutions to which AMCU'S former African American faculty have gone.

38. This is the definition of "climate" used by a report by Marion Swoboda, of the University of Wisconsin System, entitled, Retaining and Promoting Women and Minority Faculty Members: Problems and Possibilities (1990). [Hereafter referred to as Swoboda, Retaining and Promoting.]

39. Question 4 is similar to one included on the faculty survey conducted by the UCLA Higher Education Research Institute. As reported in Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac, August 28, 1991, p. 32, 66% of all faculty surveyed at public universities in 1989-90 indicated they were very or somewhat satisfied.

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40. See, e.g., Report on Women in the Sciences at Harvard, 1991, p. 22; Swoboda, Retaining and Promoting, Univ. of Wisc. System, 1990,, p. 9-14; Recruitment and Retention of Minority Members on the Faculty at Yale, 1989, p. 26. Report on 1990 Study of Minority and Women Faculty, Faculty Development Office, Office of Academic Affairs, Indiana University; Hiring and Retaining Women Faculty at the University of Arizona, 1988, pp. 13-14; Univ. of California, University of California in the Twenty-First Century: Successful Approaches to Faculty Diversity, 1987, pp.43-44; Implementation Plan in Response to the Report of the Task Force on the Status of Women at The University of Maine, 1989, pp. 9-10; Yale Univ., Report of the Faculty of Arts & Sciences, Advisory Committee on the Education of Women, April 1984.

41. Out of concern for protecting confidentiality, we have not quoted some of the more negative comments about some chairs.

42. Bowen and Schuster, American Professors, p. 54.

43. This paragraph relies, in part, on a review of the literature on collegiality conducted by Deborah Adams, a UMCP doctoral student. One study found that the frequency and number of collegial contacts make it a strong predictor of individual productivity. Roger Baldwin & Robert Blackburn, "Faculty as Human Resources," in College Faculty: Versatile Human Resources in a Period of Constraint (San Francisco, Jossey Bass, 1983).

44. See, e.g., Report of the Gender Equity Task Force, Gender Equity--An Agenda For the '90s, University of Wisconsin-Madison, April 10, 1990 at 31. This report deals with tokenism using the expression "the phenomenon of The Importance of Numbers." "Probably the most important ingredient of a supportive climate in a department," the report concludes, "is the proportion of women to men. The Task Force found that the greater the number of women faculty in a department, the less they are perceived differently and the fewer problems they report." The report also emphasizes the social isolation within their departments faced particularly by faculty women of color. See also, The report of the University of Virginia, Toward Equity: The Final Report of the Task Force on the Status of Women, April 1988 at 12. See also , D. Smith, The Challenge of Diversity, pp. 41-42 (1989). FAS, Report on Women in the Sciences, Harvard University, 1990. Sheila Widnall, Professor of Aeronautics and Astronautics at MIT and former president of the AAAS, writing of her concern about the pipeline for scientifically trained persons, notes that surveys of graduate students in the sciences (MIT & Stanford) reveal that issues affecting minority, foreign, and women students are related to their differences from the majority: their feelings of powerlessness, and feelings of increased pressure and isolation. "AAAS Presidential Lecture: Voices From the Pipeline," Vol 241 Science (Sept. 30, 1988).

45. Bowen and Schuster, American Professors, p. 146.

46. Carolyn J. Mooney, "Faculty Generation Gap Brings Campus Tensions, Debates Over Ratings of Professors," Chronicle of Higher Education, June 27, 1990, p. 1. For provocative study of social relationships among faculty, see P. J. Gumport, "The Research Imperative," (Paper prepared for the Annual Conference of the American Association for the Study of HIgher Education, (1989).

47. Adrien Katherine Wing, "Brief Reflections Toward a Multiplicative Theory fo Being," p. 7, discussing the cumulative effects of "thousands of spirit injuries" of the combination of racism and sexism.

48. Ohio State University, Junior Faculty Life at Ohio State: Insights on Gender and Race, November 1987 (Erika Bourguignon, Principal Investigator).

49. Bowen and Schuster, American Professors: A National Resource Imperiled, p. 142. Ernest Boyer, Scholarship Reconsidered

50. A recent national study on dimensions of faculty stress found, consistent with an earlier study, that of 18 "potential sources of stress," "time pressure and lack of personal time are by far the most common sources of stress for all faculty" in the survey sample.Eric L. Dey, "Dimensions of Faculty Stress: Evidence from a Recent National Survey," Higher Education Research Institute, UCLA (1990). Boyer reports that 43% of all faculty on the 1989 Survey of Faculty conducted by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching agreed with the statement: "I hardly every get time to give a piece of work the attention it deserves." Scholarship Reconsidered, p. 47.

51. Boyer, Scholarship Reconsidered, p. 33.

52. Recruitment and Retention of Minority Group Members on the Faculty at Yale, (May 1989), p. 26. A minority faculty member at Yale refers to this Catch 22 as the "free rider" problem.

53. We do not mean to imply that all black faculty members suffer in silence.

54. Clearly this is not a problem unique to UMCP. Sink-or-swim, suffer-in-silence, are two phrases that recur in studies of minority and women faculty at other universities. See, e.g., Recruitment and Retention of Minority Group Members on the Faculty at Yale, May 1989; The University of California in the Twenty-First Century: Successful Approaches to Faculty Diversity, 1987, pp. 24-25; Univ. of Wisconsin System, Retaining and Promoting Women and Minority Faculty Members, pp. 8-9. FAS, Harvard University, Report on Women in The Sciences (1991).

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55. Marian Swoboda, Project Director and Editor and Jeri Spann, Interviewer and Author.

56. See also, Access Is Not Enough, p. 14.

57. Minow, Making All The Difference, p. 92, citing studies of deterrents to bringing discrimination complaints under civil rights laws.

58. Minow, Making All The Difference, p. 93.

59. Minow cites studies showing that a high percentage of women and minorities "who report they have experienced discrimination on the job refrain from complaining to any third party, including legal officials, despite their rights under the laws against discrimination." She also cites a study of Vietnam veterans, the physically disabled and former mental patients. pp. 92-93.

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60. Stephen L. Carter, "The Best Black, And Other Tales," Vol 1, Reconstruction (Winter 1991), p. 7; See also, Reflections of An Affirmative Action Baby, (New York: Basic Books, 1991?).

61. See, e.g., Achieving Faculty Diversity: A Sourcebook of Ideas and Success Stories, The University of Wisconsin System, 1988.

62. See, e.g., discussion of the funds-switching danger in minority doctoral fellowship programs, in Clague, Minority Doctoral Support Programs: Three Case Studies, 1990, National Center for Postsecondary Governance & Finance, pp. 46, 56, 58, & 106.

63. See, e.g, James Blackwell, "Mentoring: An Action Strategy for Increasing Minority Faculty, Academe, Sept-Oct., 1989, University of Wisconsin System, Harvard.

64. As paraphrased by Janice White.

65. This point is made in the University of Wisconsin report, Retaining and Promoting Women and Minority Faculty Members, p. 4, quoting a dean of arts and letters. "Women and minorities are in a double bind. They are often hired enthusiastically for their different perspectives, research foci and the pedagogy they bring. It's bells and whistles in

the beginning, but the enthusiasm is abstract. What they bring is deeply threatening to the established teaching and research practices of the organization, and at renewal and tenure time, the established forces are still resisting and often expel the outsider."